

#INARIDIGS

Participatory ethnography on public excavations
and social media

Master's thesis

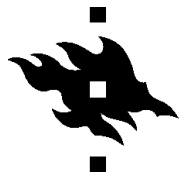
Ethnology

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract</p> <p>Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa esittelen erilaisia kulttuuriperintötyöhön osallistumisen muotoja ja motivaatiota niiden takana. Tutkielman aineisto koostuu kaksilla avoimilla kaivauksilla tehdyistä haastatteluista ja havainnoinnista sekä esimerkeistä, jotka ovat poimittu kaivauksien yhteydessä olleista sosiaalisen median kanavista. Tutkielman olen tehnyt osana Lapin synkkä kulttuuriperintö -hanketta. Kiinnostukseni kohteina ovat sekä kenttätöitä että niiden rinnalla sosiaalinen media, jolla tarjottiin laajemmalle yleisölle mahdollisuus osallistua kulttuuriperintötyöhön.</p> <p>Tutkielmani teoreettinen tausta ammentaa osallistavasta etnografiasta (participatory ethnography), mutta nojautuu myös varhaisempiin näkökulmiin osallistumisesta. Työssäni selvitän osallistamisen ja sosiaalisen median käytön hyötyä kulttuuriperintötyölle. Haastatteluaineiston keräsin avoimilla arkeologisilla kaivauksilla kesinä 2016 ja 2017. Sosiaalisen median sisältö on hankkeen tutkijoiden yhdessä tuottamaa ja valikoin sieltä edustavimpia esimerkkejä. Analysoin aineistoa etsien tiettyjä teemoja ja samankaltaisuuksia näiden toisistaan eroavien aineistojen välillä.</p> <p>Aineiston ja analyysin kontekstina toimivat toisen maailmansodan aikaiset tapahtumat ja nk. synkkä kulttuuriperintö Lapissa. Työssä tutkin sekä vapaaehtoisten kaivajien kokemuksia, että sosiaalisen median ja kaivausten synnyttämää osallisuutta yhteisöarkeologian ympärillä. Moniaineistoinen työ mahdollisti kvalitatiivisen ja kvantitatiivisen näkökulman yhdistämisen etnografian kuvailevaan tutkimustapaan.</p> <p>Aineistoa olen analysoinut englanninkielisten sanojen "participation" ja "engagement" kautta. Ensimmäinen viittaa syvempään ja kokonaisvaltaisempaan osallistumiseen, kun jälkimmäinen taas on pinnallisempi kosketus kulttuuriperintötyöhön. "Participation" sopii siis paremmin fyysisesti kentällä tapahtuneeseen vapaaehtoisten osallistumiseen ja "engagement" sosiaalisen median kautta muodostuneeseen yhteyteen kaivauksien kanssa. Työssä pohdin myös osallistumisen mahdollistavia puolia esteettömyyden ja kulttuuriperinnön politisoitumisen kautta. Kaivauskokemus ja sosiaalisen median tarjoamat mahdollisuudet otettiin positiivisesti vastaan ja yhteisöllisen kulttuuriperintötyön hyödyt olivat nähtävissä aineistosta.</p>		
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1. Introduction

1.1. Research question

This study explores two archaeological excavations from an ethnological point of view. The focus in this thesis is in the participatory aspects of public archaeology and the social media surrounding the excavations. The material was gathered from two public excavations executed in 2016 and 2017 involving volunteer participants. The thesis is done as a part of Lapland's Dark Heritage project (LDH) and the topic was offered to me in 2016.

In this research, I study how people participate in heritage work and what the motivations are behind participating. I ask how different outlets would engage people in heritage work both offline and online especially in the context of dark heritage. I am interested in finding out if using social media in participatory heritage work would be beneficial and if there is a place for more community based heritage work in Finland. My research questions are:

1. How are different ways of participating in heritage work experienced especially in the context of dark heritage and what are the motivations for participating?
2. What effect does social media have on community based heritage work?

This thesis combines several methods but the foundation is in the ethnographic fieldwork and in the social media. In this thesis these organic aspects and materials forms a work of an ethnologist and the same data and experience could also be analysed from other disciplinary points of view. Part of the material for this thesis was collected using ethnographic methods such as interviewing, taking notes and being intensively in the field. Another part was collected by employing ways to participate in the heritage discourse through online outlets. The base of this thesis lies in ethnography, but at the same time, I also considered the archaeological, marketing and netnographical¹ side of the substance.

¹ For example Kozinets 2010.

My interest in these themes springs from experience of helping others in using social media, and from an interest in dark heritage. I have never been a fan of horror movies or fictional darkness, but instead I have spent hours in cemeteries wondering what kind of life the deceased lived. For me it is easier to try to understand past horrors and how people survived them (or not), than the modern injustices. Learning from the past is a key in understanding today. I also wanted to study how to use social media more professionally and how to use it in the heritage sector. I have always been interested in the question of why people do what they do, or to be exact, how they rationalise the things that they participate in. Combining these aspects, I found myself travelling to Finnish Lapland with a group of researchers.

This thesis is a part of an interdisciplinary project called Lapland's Dark Heritage (LDH). The project is studying the values and meanings of material heritage of the Second World War (WWII) in Finnish Lapland, and how the legacy of German troops that occupied Lapland continue to affect the region and the people. In LDH's blog the descriptions is that the project "seeks to understand the diverse cultural values and meanings of the material heritage associated with the German military presence in northern Finland during WWII".¹ The project has emphasis on the material heritage related to WWII, but it also studies the ways in which the former military areas have been used after the war, and what kind of memories the war time has left in people and landscape. The project is primarily funded by the Academy of Finland.²

The project uses a set of different approaches to analyse and interpret the diverse kinds of materials gathered. LDH combines fields of ethnology, archaeology, history, sociology, and anthropology. The project uses for example methods such as surveys, documentation, excavations, interviews, observation and media analysis.³ Thus the project and its members tries to understand historical, cultural and environmental context of Lapland from several points of

¹ Blog of Lapland's Dark Heritage.

² I got additional funding for the first fieldwork from the trust of Emil and Lempi Hietanen (Seurasaarisäätiö) and for the overall writing period from Kirsti Mäkinen memorial trust (Kalevalaisten naisten liitto). Together with another student we also received a stipend for getting access to Arla sauna where we spent many enjoyable moments contemplating our thesis' and relaxing.

³ Blog of Lapland's Dark Heritage.

views. In this Master's thesis I focus on the three last methods, and use them in order to understand the experiences and motivations related to volunteers and visitors engaging in public excavation and social media.

The project has four core members and the project leader is Vesa-Pekka Herva, the professor of archaeology at the University of Oulu. Two of the researchers of the project are from the University of Helsinki. These are Suzie Thomas the professor of culture heritage studies and archaeologist Oula Seitsonen. The fourth member is Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, a postdoctoral researcher from University of Jyväskylä.¹ The project has had several student members working with the theme, including myself.

LDH's research plan² states that in contemporary heritage studies it is important to understand other aspects of heritage than just the pleasant ones. This includes negative and painful heritage. The project is interested in different ways of perceiving and valuing tangible and intangible war heritage. The team members, especially Seitsonen³, has been thanked for opening the platform for discussion of the Lapland War.

I was just leaving abroad to be an exchange student when I first heard it would be possible to take part in this project. A friend who was writing her master's thesis, sent me a message informing me of the topic and how it would be perfect for me. I contacted the project to enquire if the topic was still available and if it was possible to start after the exchange period was over. Coincidentally there was a chance to do a dissertation as a part of the project, experience being part of an academic project and participate in the fieldwork process.

Initially I was supposed to join one excavation, but fortunately I had the opportunity to join two. The excavations were held in Inari in 2016 and 2017. The project invited volunteers to join the excavation and an advance registration was required. In addition to volunteers there were approximately ten academic representatives at the excavation either researchers of the project, students or international professionals from different countries. The excavations were open

¹ When the project started, Koskinen-Koivisto worked in University of Helsinki.

² Application number 275497, Academy of Finland.

³ For example Romakkaniemi 2012, 21.

to public, and many local visitors stopped by to wonder what was going on and learn more about the region and its history.

The excavations were held in Inari which is a municipality located in Lapland, in the northern Finland. The sites were chosen by the excavation leader Seitsonen and the sites situated close to the village of Inari. Being close to the village provided the group easy access to maintenance and accommodation. The excavations were done in liaison with the Sámi museum Siida.¹ Siida, for example, was a good place to meet up and they provided an auditorium for the lectures that were held as surplus activities

The first excavation was held at a field hospital used by the German military during the WWII. The location was chosen based on information provided by the locals and for the presumed safety of the site. Seitsonen had scouted and marked the site before the volunteers arrived. The following year, the site located in a place that was assumed to be a prison camp for the Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) and the site was only briefly scouted before the excavation. This means that the content of the area was not as familiar to the archaeologists as the year before. Both excavations attracted many visitors and media, and the social media of the project kept interested stakeholders updated.

The excavation in 2016 lasted for a week, during which the site was open for volunteers and visitors from Monday to Friday. The archaeologists backfilled the following weekend. The excavation in 2017 lasted for seven days divided by a weekend full of excursions. The excursions were for the volunteers and the researchers, and were made for instance to the Karigasniemi Road, the Lasarettmoen in Norway and local sites such as the ruins of the Kaamanen military airport.

In this thesis, the word 'participation' is used to indicate active involvement in heritage. 'Engagement' on the other hand is used to indicate a connection or interaction with something.² For this reason, participation is better suited to describe the level of contact with the volunteers and the volunteers' contact with

¹ More information of the museum at Siida museum's website.

² For example Camarero&al. 2018.

the project and its themes. Engagement is more suitable for describing the contact that social networking site followers made with the projects profiles and posts.

The aim of this thesis is to introduce different ways to approach dark heritage and unwrap a portion of the dialogue related to the material war remains of the German presence and the Lapland War. I suggest there are benefits of these different approaches, but I also criticise the ineffectual sides of the approaches. Master's thesis is a limited platform to introduce all voices of the dialogue, but I have pursued multi-vocality.

The structure of this thesis is first to introduce the topic and the context. In the second chapter I introduce some theoretical standpoints to the topic and in the third chapter I will explain more about the methods and the fieldwork. The fourth and the fifth chapters includes the analyses of the material and the sixth chapter is the conclusion. Because of the amount of online links as references, I have chosen to name each link separately following the same logic in the online references at the end of this thesis. Because of the modern day system of restoring the dissertations online, unorthodoxly the hyperlinks are left in the references for easier access.

1.2. Positioning

Positioning oneself as a researcher is important especially in ethnology.¹ It is impossible to avoid different roles overlapping each other while doing ethnography. Ethnography is multi-layered combination of being the outsider and the insider with different level of participating and observing.²

Anthropologist Päivikki Suojanen writes about the Self and the Other,³ and how a researcher always has preconceptions of the Other when entering the field.⁴ To my knowledge I have no previous connections to Lapland. My family is from Southern Finland and Russia. I have visited Lapland once when I was a child, but I have very little memory of this. In my adult years, I have visited Lapland but only by passing through on my way to Norway. I have no relatives that has

¹ Ruotsala 2005, 53.

² Hämeenaho&Koskinen-Koivisto 2014, 25-26.

³ In Finnish = Itseys and Toiseus.

⁴ Suojanen 1997, 156.

fought in the Lapland War and my frail German roots go all the way back to the Middle Ages.

I do not feel my gender or age had much influence on the research. Doing this kind of fieldwork; being constantly surrounded by people and having a hectic – yet flexible – timetable, requires certain personality traits. Either one can be very mellow and get along with everyone and all kinds of situations, or one can be assertive of their own space and boundaries. Or one can deploy both approaches depending on the situation. Such fieldwork requires someone to remember to bring the paperwork with or someone to produce timetables and to know who is where and when. But it also requires the ability to throw oneself into situations and being quick on one's feet. These traits are not necessarily related to age and gender.

An ethnologist also has to know when to be quiet and listen. Or when to close one's eyes and to use other senses. Or to be able to fade in the background and be as unobtrusive as possible, but one needs to be bold enough to ask the right questions. I cannot say I have all these traits, but willing to learn is the first step. Without the experience and having the student status does effect the research in multiple ways. These can be seen for example in the confidence of doing research and positioning oneself in the field. Having had the experience in 2016 under the wing of an experienced ethnologist, the fieldwork was different in my part in 2017.

As ethnologist Helena Ruotsala points out, doing research in the north the distinction between the north and the south can be in some situations more meaningful than gender.¹ This I felt in the field for example in the way I talked. I have quite a heavy accent or slang easily placed to the capital city region. I often “tone down” the accent when I travel in Finland because it can potentially irritate people especially in the rural areas and toning it down helps the sentences I produce to be more understandable. I often have the tendency to subconsciously mimic the way my conversation partner speaks and this can be

¹ Ruotsala 2005, 53.

heard in the interview tapes especially in the words I choose to use. This helps narrowing the gap between myself and the person I am talking with.

In 2016 when I joined the project, I was not involved in the planning process, mostly because I was in another country when the plans were made. I met with the project members before the summer to discuss plans for the social media and the dissertation. I created new social media channels for the project before the excavation which were published simultaneously with press releases. I was free to make decisions involving the social networking sites independently, but it is good practice to introduce the future changes to the other team members beforehand. Koskinen-Koivisto, Thomas, student member Anni Tolppanen and I created the interview questions to utilize as many interests as possible.¹

In 2017 I was invited to sit in most of the project's meetings, but my input in planning the excavation period was quite minimal. The year before there was more time for planning, but in 2017 the funding was resolved late. Koskinen-Koivisto was unfortunately unable to join the excavation and the ethnological fieldwork rested on me. I decided to exploit the interview questions from previous year in hopes of creating coherent data collection.

Everything related to this project was rather new to me and I had to start the familiarisation from the beginning. This included studying more about the Second World War, the position of Finnish Lapland, and dark heritage. I had never before participated in archaeological excavations and I was glad to be able to experience it close to the way in which the volunteers experienced it. Suojanen aims in finding a link between the Self and the Other while doing research.² For me this research has been a beautiful combination of studying both. The Self comes from the same language and from the people that have cultural similarities, and the Other from the new activities, rituals and landscapes.

¹ See Appendix 1.

² Suojanen 1997, 156.

1.3. Background: the Lapland War

In Finnish history, the years 1941 to 1944 are referred to as the German Times or German Era.¹ In WWII Finland allied with Germany to fight against the Soviet Union. The unofficial alliance started after the Winter War (1939-1940) because there was a threat of another attack from the eastern border.² This brought more German soldiers Northern Finland than the region had native citizens. Seitsonen describes the experience in Lapland to be completely different from the war experience in other parts of Finland.³ Finnish military leadership was more focused on the warfare in Karelia during the Continuation War, therefore the security of the local residents' homeland in Lapland was in the hands of foreign troops. In other words, the German troops were responsible for the Northern front, which comes up to almost a thousand kilometres.⁴

The German army built hundreds of bases in Lapland and a lot of workforce was brought along. The Germans had close to a hundred labour camps in the area. The 20th Mountain Army⁵ as the German troops in Finland were called, had not only 214 000 personnel, over 17 000 vehicles, over 30 000 horses and around 180 000 tons of material, but they also had over 20 000 POWs for workforce.⁶ The region also experienced the activity of Organisation Todt.⁷ The northern front was essentially stationary, mainly because the German troops were not prepared for the northern conditions.⁸ The encounters with locals and the Germans were described as "often quite ordinary and quotidian but nonetheless inevitable".⁹

One of the terms of the truce between Finland and Soviet Union in 1944 was that the German troops would have had to leave the country. At that point the troops had been in Finland for years.¹⁰ The German troops who were thus

¹ In Finnish: saksalaisaika. For example Suutari 2018.

² For example Seitsonen&Herva 2011. Kulju calls the Continuation War a rematch for the Winter War's injustices (Kulju 2017, 25).

³ Seitsonen 2018, 3.

⁴ For example Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 171.

⁵ To be exact "Gebirgs-Armee-Oberkommando 20": Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 175.

⁶ Kulju 2014, 17.

⁷ Kulju 2017, 32.

⁸ For example Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 172-175.

⁹ Alariesto & al. 2015, 5.

¹⁰ For example Ahto 1980.

forced to fight against the Finnish soldiers had been trained for wilderness combat by the Finnish military officers.¹ At the time, the Soviets had many reasons to provoke the conflict to escalate.² Historians have described the Lapland War “one of the most pointless wars in history”. This is because there were no reasons the shed blood if the Germans were given enough time to retreat.³ But the war was inevitable given the political situation of Europe at that time.⁴

The retreat was peaceful at first and the civilians were evacuating the area for more in the fear of the Soviets than the Germans.⁵ But the peace treaty enforced military actions and for the safety of the whole country those actions had to be taken. Finland was in war with their former brothers-in-arms almost seven months, during which German army retaliated the exile by using the strategy called “scorched earth”. Almost all the prison camps, military bases and archives were destroyed during this retreat.⁶ The German troops also filled the land with mines so effectively that the last known life taken by a mine was as late as in the 1970’s.⁷

The Lapland War has a marginal position in Finnish war narrative and has been a politically sensitive issue.⁸ But there are several comprehensive studies done ever since the 1950’s.⁹ There are multiple views on what started the Lapland War, the most common of which is that it started with the landing in Tornio. Those German soldiers who fell in the battle at Tornio and many other German soldiers are buried in the Norvajärvi cemetery in Rovaniemi. According to Koskinen-Koivisto, the cemetery is the only official commemoration site and monument of the German presence in Finnish Lapland.¹⁰

¹ Kulju 2014, 18.

² See Kulju 2017, 71 or Ahto 1980, 10-11. These reasons were for example the nickel in Petsamo and binding German troops in the North instead of freeing them to fight in other fronts.

³ For example Erkkilä&Iivari 2015.

⁴ Ahto 1980, 14.

⁵ Erkkilä&Iivari 2015, 8.

⁶ Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 171.

⁷ Kulju 2017, 45.

⁸ For example Erkkilä&Iivari 2015, 10.

⁹ For example historians and nonfiction writers such as Toivo Kaila, Sampo Ahto, Lars Westerlund and Mika Kulju has written books about the Lapland War.

¹⁰ Koskinen-Koivisto 2016, 23.

One of the people visiting the excavation site in 2016 described the situation of Lapland war from a personal aspect. She had been listening to the radio a program about the war when the announcer had said that “the guns went silent in 1944”. Because she considers Lapland’s heritage as her heritage, the words of the announcer offended her.¹ Even though the war was mostly over in other parts of Finland, in Lapland the guns quieted down the next year, but in many occasion it is not mentioned or forgotten.

According to historian Marianne Junila, even though the Lapland War has been researched, the German presence and its more mundane aspects and everyday life experiences have been studied a lot less.² Seitsonen and Herva consider the lack of previous studies of the German presence to be because of the lack of evidence, such as remains of documents and archives. But even though Lapland suffered a “material disaster”³, the tangible evidence of the German troops in Lapland is massive.⁴ This is why they consider archaeological approach to be able to make important contributions.⁵ For example there is very little written history about the German prison camps in Finland and LDH’s archaeological and ethnographic approach is an alternative way of gathering evidence.⁶ Excavating material heritage and interviewing local citizens, the project can fill gaps in the Finnish war narrative.⁷

The “scorched earth” tactic was used because the German army had to leave most of their equipment behind and like in any war, the infrastructure was rather destroyed than left in the hands of the enemy.⁸ Demining continued for years after the war ended in 1945.⁹ The war materiel is located in the forests, swamps, arctic hills, lakes and on the corner of people’s homes. In the 1980’s the bones of the bodies of the Soviet POWs rose from the ground in the natural park Malla.¹⁰ The war might have destroyed the branches but the roots are still

¹ 160802_0003

² Junila 2000, 12.

³ MTV’s Studio55 website.

⁴ Seitsonen&al. 2017, 3.

⁵ Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 172.

⁶ For example Seitsonen&Herva 2017.

⁷ For example Westerlund 2008, 13-23.

⁸ Ahto 1980, 28.

⁹ Ahto 1980, 296.

¹⁰ Erkkilä&Iivari 2015, 7.

visible, especially in people's minds, in the political attitudes and branding the region.

What to do with and who owns the materiel in Lapland has been a topic of discussion for a while. Finnish law protects ancient sites and findings,¹ but the material of a war fought less than a hundred years ago in principle belongs to the Finnish Defence Forces.² The metal war material can be a problem to Lapland's image,³ as Lapland is seen as the place for outdoor activities, nature and the home of Santa Claus.⁴ In 1987 an organisation called Keep Lapland Tidy⁵ was established to clean the material of WWII war heritage from the nature.

Keep Lapland Tidy held camps for volunteers every year to take part in collecting the metal scrap, and most of the volunteers comes from the Southern parts of the country.⁶ A decade ago the good intentions of the organisation were not clear to everyone and they got a lot of negative feedback about their work.⁷ The critical feedback was concerns of taking valuable material from the ground and selling it forward.⁸ Removing the war material from the landscape is problematic because it poses a threat to preservation of the heritage.⁹ Part of the negativity might be because Southerners are considered outsiders and the material on the ground is considered the heritage of the Northern region.

In 2010 Finnish Forest Commission Metsähallitus¹⁰ that is a state-based enterprise, responsible for the management of 90% of Finnish Lapland's forests, organised a land survey mapping the cultural heritage in the state-owned forests. This produced an inventory of 277 destinations in the south side

¹ Finlex's website.

² Herva&al. 2016, 272.

³ For example Seitsonen&Herva 2017 or Koskinen-Koivisto&Thomas 2017.

⁴ For example Life in Lapland's website.

⁵ Pidä Lappi Siistinä's (Keep Lapland Tidy) website.

⁶ Today the organisation is directed to other kind of work to help to keep Lapland tidy. For example in year 2018 the organisation offers a camp for volunteers in the aim of repairing bridges in popular hiking sites.

⁷ For example Kaleva 7.7.2006: Sotaromusta taas kädenväättöä.

⁸ For example YLE: 28.7.2010: *"Pidä Lappi Siistinä ry ei tee sotaromulla bisnestä"*.

⁹ For example Herva 2014, 102 and Seitsonen&Herva 2017, 178.

¹⁰ The Finnish Forest Commission Metsähallitus is a state-owned and administers over 12 million hectares of land and water. See Metsähallitus' website.

of Rovaniemi alone and 28 of them were categorised as WWII heritage.¹ The commission has been routinely conducting these surveys ever since in their northern forest regions.² In 2006 a group of war history hobbyists founded an organisation to help in producing inventory and recording the WWII material in Lapland.

The provincial museum of Lapland in Rovaniemi had an exhibition of the Lapland War.³ The exhibition was in Arktikum⁴, which displays northern nature, culture and history.⁵ The temporary exhibition was open from 28th April 2015 to 10th January 2016.⁶ The exhibition was named *Wir waren Freunde* and it displayed the co-existence of German troops and the local Finns during WWII.⁷ LDH -project members were part of producing a visitor questionnaire that was to get feedback of the controversial exhibition.



¹ Promotional material of "Wir waren Freunde" exhibition. (Seitsonen 2018)

¹ Karjalainen 2012, 15.

² Seitsonen & Herva 2017, 175.

³ For example Koskinen-Koivisto 2016 or Suutari 2018.

⁴ Which also contains a science center.

⁵ Arktikum's website.

⁶ Harju 2017.

⁷ Alariesto & al. 2015, 5.

The exhibition had promotional material in the form of a matchbox. A black matchbox with red text saying “we were friends” in German and Finnish got so much feedback, that the mayor of Rovaniemi asked the museum to withdraw the advertisement material.¹ The matchbox was a limited edition of 4000 items and the box became a collectable item.

In Finland it is common to use the term “burning of Lapland” and there are many jokes about it that can be called folklore. Having an exhibition of the Lapland War and advertising it with matchboxes is controversial for this reason. One is to suggest that Finns were friends with the Nazis, one is to suggest Finns were friends with the ones who burned down Lapland and one reason is to ask, are we not friends now.

One of the issues connected to the German presence in Lapland that is still difficult and shameful, is the relationship between German soldiers and Finnish women. Recently women’s position during and after the war was taken up again for example in the documentary *Auf Wiedersehen Finnland*.² According to the film-maker there might have been closer to thousand women who travelled to Germany at the end of WWII.³ Why the interest is on the women might be their ambivalent role during the war. On the other hand, they were the essence of evacuations going smoothly and on the other hand they had to endure great deal of gossip and judgement of their relationships.⁴

These has been examples of the many ways to remember and to forget the dark heritage of Lapland and the unofficial alliance with Nazi Germany. Finland is still searching its post-war identity, but the awareness of the Lapland War is increasing.⁵ The interest today is not only academic as can be seen from the rising popular culture themes and from the amount of articles published by Finnish media.⁶

¹ For example YLE 7.10.2014: *Rovaniemi sytytettiin 70 vuotta sitten* and IS: *Mainostemppu oli liikaa*.

² Koskinen-Koivisto 2016, 27.

³ YLE 9.10.2009: *Rakkaus vei tuhat naista Saksaan Lapin sodan jälkeen*.

⁴ Erkkilä&Iivari 2015, 350. See for example Väyrynen 2014.

⁵ Thomas&Koskinen-Koivisto 2016, 61-62 and Seitsonen&Herva 2017, 170.

⁶ For example Thomas&Koivisto 2016, 62.

2. Theory and earlier studies

2.1. Earlier studies in the project

Koskinen-Koivisto and Thomas describes the relationship between contemporary residents and the dark heritage “complex and sometimes surprising”.¹ They have studied different groups and individuals interested in engaging with war history. They have also studied museums in the context of Lapland war and the German presence. Seitsonen and Herva has studied the archaeological remains and sites in Lapland. Together and in collaboration they have written several articles relating to the many sides of Lapland’s dark heritage.

This thesis deals with a number of issues in addition to the historical context of the Lapland War. While as a researcher I participated in the act of doing what was done in the field, this thesis is not my participation. I have used it as one of the fieldwork methods, but participation refers to the people who were somehow engaged online or offline in the public excavations. Participatory research and relating projects have been a route to empower citizens, but this thesis is not to promote any particular method that emphasises empowering. A combination of community-based research and ethnographic approaches can be relevant and useful without high aspirations of helping the entire humanity.²

Even though the fieldwork was done on public archaeological excavations, I look at the subject from an ethnological point of view. But because of the interdisciplinary nature of the project, this thesis also draws from more than ethnology. Those are contemporary archaeology and media analysis, as well as online ethnography. Research on ethnology has a long history of conducting ethnographic research by observing, interviewing and taking fieldnotes.³ In addition to those, I have communicated with people online about the excavations.

The difference between being online and offline is usually understood as a movement from a space, a place or a site to another.⁴ For me the difference is

¹ Koskinen-Koivisto&Thomas 2017, 129-130.

² Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 144.

³ For example Ruotsala 2005 or Harper 2009.

⁴ For example Hämeenaho&Koskinen-Koivisto 2014, 12.

the emphasis of one's focus, and being online or offline is liminal. Even if online and offline were separated into different spaces, a person does not travel between those places. We exist both offline and online at the same time.

LDH has already been a channel for one master's thesis at the University of Helsinki related to the *Wir waren Freunde* exhibition¹, and one Bachelor's thesis at the University of Aberdeen related to the first excavation in 2016².

Archaeologist and excavation leader Seitsonen has finished his PhD during the project and his thesis was titled "Digging Hitler's arctic war".³ The project members have produced a significant amount of articles, mostly written in collaboration.⁴

Most relevant article for this thesis is about public engagement written in collaboration with Dr. Iain Banks.⁵ Banks is a senior lecturer in conflict archaeology currently working at the University of Glasgow. He has actively participated in LDH and the excavations. He also played the part of an expert in one of the YouTube –videos the project has published. Banks studies the WWII heritage of Cultybraggan in Scotland and similar methods as in LDH is used in the project. For example this community archaeology project has had volunteers and used ethnographic methods to study them.

Thematically Cultybraggan is part of the dark heritage body. Thomas was a guest researcher in the Cultybraggan excavation and produced one video of dark heritage for the LDH YouTube -channel. Even though the target of interest and the locations are different, these two projects has abounding similarities.⁶

2.2. Heritage and heritage work

Heritage is hard to define and there is no endorsed theorisation of heritage as a concept. Heritage can be objects and monuments, traditions and practices, customs and culture, or ideas and memories. In academic research, the aspect

¹ Suutari 2018.

² Tolppanen 2017.

³ Seitsonen 2018.

⁴ For example a couple of articles have been published in collaboration with Iain Banks, who is a conflict archaeology currently working in the University of Glasgow. Dr. Banks also participated in the excavations both years and has done some research of his own in the area related to reindeer herding.

⁵ Published in *Journal of Community Archaeology* with the title "Public engagements with Lapland's Dark Heritage: Community archaeology in Finnish Lapland", Banks&al. 2017.

⁶ More about Cultybraggan for example on the Comrie Development Trust's website.

has mainly had the focus on the tangible, but recently the attention has recourse to the intangible.¹ There are fundamentally different worldviews and conceptions of heritage as there are societies and communities. The meanings and perspectives of heritage have long developed and changed.

Heritage is defined by the societal context, and it is described as a product of post-modern economics and social tendencies. Heritage professional David C. Harvey argues, that heritage is first and foremost a process. He considers heritage as something that is made and not given. He is also certain that a bigger range and number of people are getting involved in heritage, and that heritage is becoming more boarder and deeper phenomena than ever before.²

Heritage can also be distinguished as a link or a relationship with the past, a relationship between the living and the dead. It can be seen as something worth to protect, or there is an obligation to protect and to preserve. Some considers heritage to be a responsibility to objects or to people, either past or present or both.³ As scholars Julie Hollowell and George Nicholas points out, without the intangible and the intellectual aspects, heritage and its cultural objects and practices - the part we consider as the tangible cultural properties - would have no meaning or value at all.⁴

Harvey argues that every society has a relationship with the past, and indicates that this relationship is there whether the society decides to remember and embrace it, or to forget and ignore it. He suggests that the definition of heritage is entwined with identity, power, authority and links in the chain of popular memory. Heritage can be seen as oral customs and folklore, it can be regarded as public memory, or non-elite customs and lay traditions. Heritage can also be identified as the actual physical remains. Heritage can be a product, a part of the heritage industry or commodification. Heritage could also be a spatial and temporal landscape, tangible or intangible. Heritage has a connection to the

¹ For example Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 144.

² For example Harvey 2001, 336 or Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 154.

³ Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 154.

⁴ Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 144.

past but it also has a present. Harvey claims that many heritage presentations says more about us and our time, than the object of study.¹

One more aspect to heritage is that is part of one's identity. Cultural heritage can be seen to be multi-dimensional and a way for communities to define themselves in time and place.² These manifestations of identity has been increasingly followed by a recognition of different narratives. These less public narratives can be for example unsettling or contested memories or heritage. The darker side of heritage raises questions of the power dynamics, motives and disrupt the existing accounts of the past.³

According to the survey Cultural Heritage Barometer which was conducted in 2017, cultural heritage is seen as part of Finnish identity. General attitudes towards cultural heritage are positive and it is seen as something that brings people together. For many it is important part of their family history, but it is rarely part of one's everyday life. Consequently for most Finns protecting cultural heritage is regarded as an important issue, especially among the older generations. Protecting cultural heritage preserves crucial values, and is not seen as a hindrance for progress.⁴

Cultural heritage can be divided into two sections, where the other one is economic and the other emotional. Economic side includes material and intangible goods, emotional side a spectrum from sentimental affections to collective appropriation. The economic values or the fear of loss entails preservation, and preservation entails selections.⁵

Less than half of the people who responded to Cultural Heritage Barometer survey considers protecting cultural heritage economic, but modern technology and its accomplishments are not seen as valuable. Tangible WWII war heritage could be categorised as modern technology, which would suggest that the public does not necessarily see the value of it. As reported by the survey, everyday commodities, objects and built environments are seen only slightly

¹ Harvey, 2001, 320.

² Takalo 2014, 129.

³ Macdonald 2008, 93.

⁴ Cultural Heritage Barometer 2017.

⁵ Bendix 2008, 253-254.

more valuable. For Finns, nature is important and worth to preserve.¹ This highlights the problem Lapland is struggling between being a magical place where Santa's reindeer guides the hikers to Aurora Borealis sightings and the war metal scrap in the backyard.² The survey suggests that cultural heritage is important also locally, but not many can tell if cultural heritage brings more income to their region.³

As reported by the Cultural Heritage Barometer, officials and other public authorities are considered to be the most responsible for taking care of cultural heritage, but the responsibility lies also on citizens and communities. A little more than half were keen to know more about cultural heritage, but not that many replied to be actively involved in any activities related to cultural heritage.⁴

In conclusion, heritage is anything that a society or a community gives meaning to, but it is difficult to define in one certain way. Definitions of heritage shifts through time, interest and fashion. It is no longer sufficient to define heritage as something we give value to or something that we honour. But nonetheless it is something to be understood so we can understand ourselves and our practices.

Participating in cultural heritage is a form of social activity.⁵ Heritage practices can also be empowering.⁶ In this thesis I define heritage work to be any kind of work involving heritage. Archaeologist Rachael Kiddey argues that if archaeology is indeed seen as a method or "a way of revisiting material culture to make sense of change" then the conclusion is that "heritage is the social process by which people are engaged in this work".⁷ Heritage work can be paid or unpaid, and the people working can be professionals or layman and volunteers. Heritage work can involve activities, events, or for example coordinating or participating in social media. The actions aims consciously or subconsciously to preserve or develop heritage or its awareness.

¹ Cultural Heritage Barometer 2017.

² Herva 2014, 96.

³ Cultural Heritage Barometer 2017.

⁴ Cultural Heritage Barometer 2017.

⁵ Takalo 2014, 133.

⁶ Kiddey 2018.

⁷ Kiddey 2018, 695.

Heritage studies are interested in heritage itself and its manifestations. Traditionally it has concerned preserving and presenting of places and objects that are considered somehow important. This scope has broadened to revolve issues such as how and why past matters. Heritage values are not universal nor transparent.¹ It is good to note that these previous definitions are primarily made from Western perspective. If heritage is defined by Western standards, it means the term dark heritage has the same perspective. Heritage is considered to be anything or everything that is handed down from the past or past generations, but as Lowenthal reminds us, not all heritage is uniformly desirable. Heritage can be contradictory or difficult, and it can be painful or silenced.²

The concept of dark heritage stems from dark tourism joined together with contested, undesirable, difficult or ambivalent heritage.³ Dark tourism is an academic field studying the interest in travelling to places and attractions that somehow represents human mortality. According to dark tourism professionals Catherine Roberts and Philip Stone, travelling to “meet with the dead” is bound with heritage. They point out that sites of dark tourism are considered to be “meaningful places” and that those sites can represent “heritage that hurts”. Dark and macabre themes are entwined with the term dark tourism.⁴

Dark heritage is a broader term than dark tourism. Dark heritage could be any cultural representations of mortality and dark tourism is where education and heritage studies collides. Roberts and Stone lists several new words that has been added to heritage and tourism vocabularies because of scholarly attention to dark tourism. These terms are thanatourism, black spots, grief tourism and morbid tourism. Roberts and Stone also lists the darker poles of dark tourism which are graveyards and cemeteries, Holocaust sites, places of atrocity, prisons and crime sites and slavery-heritage attractions.⁵

¹ Thomas&al. 2016, 331.

² For example Harvey 2001. Lowenthal 2005, 81.

³ For example Thomas&al. 2016, Koskinen-Koivisto 2016 or Biran&al. 2011.

⁴ Roberts&Stone 2014, 9. See also Stone 2006, 146 and Stone 2012, 1566.

⁵ Roberts&Stone 2014, 9.

There are several different types of heritage that can be connected to the theoretical baseline of dark tourism. For example undesirable, contested, difficult or ambivalent heritage connected together with the concept of dark tourism forms dark heritage. In tourism and heritage studies there has been a recent increase of interest in understanding of painful or negative heritage. According to Thomas, Seitsonen and Herva, these heritages can be for example related to war or genocide.¹

Research on dark heritage is a new field in academia. There are some research done especially in British context and field of tourism has been researched as dark tourism. The concept of dark heritage can be applied to many themes and disciplines, for example in studying the prison service.² The theoretical themes are mostly the interest of academics, but with the popular interest of macabre, it can be interesting to a broader audience. But there can be problems in popularisation of heritage.³

The heritage of WWII in Lapland can be considered dark, difficult or undesirable because of the complexity of the relationship between the local residents and the German troops, and the destruction that affected local communities in different ways.⁴ Koskinen-Koivisto and Thomas states that the dark heritage of Lapland has been silenced in favour of official tourism marketing.⁵ One might consider this is a local issue or part of regional history, but in this case all of us are cultural descendants.⁶ At least the whole nation, but I would think Europe or even the whole Western culture is affected by the relationships of different sides in WWII. Still today the scars of the war have not yet healed.

Because after the Paris Peace Treaty, Finland was found guilty in the trial where war responsibilities were judged, it is argued that the blame and guilt of National Socialism became a burden for Finland to carry with Germany. The position of Finland is under debate and described differently in different

¹ Thomas&al. 2016, 331.

² For example McAtackney 2013.

³ For example Hovi 2009.

⁴ For example Herva&al. 2016 or Koskinen-Koivisto 2016.

⁵ Koskinen-Koivisto&Thomas 2017, 131.

⁶ The term cultural descendant have used for example Hollowell&Nicholas 2009.

sources.¹ War is a difficult issue, but a topical issue nonetheless. Traces of the wars fought in 20th century and beyond are in the core of (political) discussion today. Remembering WWII is institutionalized.²

There are many museums based on the Second World War especially in the western and Eastern Europe. There are nine museums in Germany, nine museums in Poland and at least eight museums in other European countries dedicated to internment.³ Thomas and Koskinen-Koivisto has also researched how museums presents the Lapland War and their findings is that in many cases the German presence and the Lapland War is just “ghosts in the background”.⁴ There are over 1,000 museums in Finland⁵, but none of them are concentrated in the era of German presence and the Lapland War.

Context information is always relevant. Imagine you are looking at the ruins of a bridge surrounded by a breath-taking landscape in Finnish Lapland. The nature is amazing around you, and the sunset luminous. It makes a difference if you know that many of the bridges during WWII were built by POW's. For example there is a story that a Polish prisoner was building a bridge literally for his life. The mentality was that by finishing the bridge in time, prisoner would gain his freedom, but being late from the deadline meant death.⁶ Or imagine walking along a road that was most likely constructed by Soviet prisoners. Stories tell that some of the prisoners were executed on the road and buried in the foundation of the road from Kaamanen to Karigasniemi.⁷

The heritage of Finnish-German relationship can be described as complicated. During the war the much needed help that the German military presence provided can be seen acceptable. Many local residents made friends with the soldiers and this gives us the perception of “good Germans”.⁸ The German troops retreated from Finland which lead to “burning down Lapland” and at the

¹ For example Kemiläinen 2006, but this article should be read critically as it has a nationalistic stance. The writer suggests, among other things, that the Paris Peace Treaty should be contested.

² Tepora 2017, 127.

³ Pitkänen&Sutinen 2014, 57-204.

⁴ Thomas&Koskinen-Koivisto 2016.

⁵ Finnish Museums Association's website.

⁶ Romakkaniemi 2012, 20.

⁷ Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 176.

⁸ Seitsonen&Herva 2017, 171.

end of WWII all the travesties of Nazis emerged, and the embarrassment of the former relationship arose. This two-sided heritage has remained a sensitive topic in Finland for a long time.¹

2.3. Participation

Participation is a relevant issue.² It is a term used in many fields and disciplines. For example it is used in community development research studying culture and its representation³, in environment management studying sustainability indicators⁴ and consumer research studying consumer welfare and social change⁵. Participation can be part of research as a method of doing fieldwork and ethnography.⁶ It can also be a way of redirecting control and empowering citizens, societies or communities.⁷ Participation methods are used for example placing control onto marginalised people such as indigenous people or those living in poverty ridden slums and thus empowering the community. And it can be used in studying cultural heritage or social media.⁸

When addressing the topic of participation it is favourable to start from the roots. Participation research originates from the United States and then spread globally. The term Action Research was first used by Kurt Lewin in 1946 and it is used especially in the fields of management, education and economic development. One of the most important goals of action research is to find solutions to immediate concerns. It can be seen demanding because in action research it is expected to develop knowledge and work towards social change.⁹

Health and Education professional Sherry Arnstein considers participation to be a question of power, powerlessness, control and other ideological and political aspects. In US, citizen participation has revealed many questions, but to Arnstein citizen participation is to include all citizens and redistribute power. In her paper "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" she describes participation to

¹ Herva 2014, 96. Application number 275497, Academy of Finland.

² Suopajärvi 2016, 387.

³ For example Braden&Mayo 1999.

⁴ For example Fraser&al. 2005.

⁵ For example Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

⁶ For example Koskinen 2014, 130.

⁷ For example Arnstein 1969 and Suopajärvi 2016.

⁸ For example Liew 2014.

⁹ Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

indicate “the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society”. By “them” she means all citizens but especially the minorities. Arnstein wrote the paper in the 1960’s.¹

The reason why this paper is still relevant is because it addresses the idea of letting everyone benefit from participating. Arnstein calls the opposite of having real power to accomplish an empty ritual. Arnstein divides the types of participation and non-participation into eight levels and uses a ladder as a metaphor for them. Using methods and theory of engaging participants in research requires the researchers to have a more responsible role. Beck and Maida describes this of becoming more instrumental as a researcher. By engaging participants, we can generate a change in the world and improve the lives of those who we research. Doing research this way will also bring the researcher closer to the groups that he or she studies.²

The eight ladders of participation according to Arnstein are explained next. First two levels are therapy and manipulation which Arnstein does not count as real participation. These two levels are framed from above and has ulterior motives. Arnstein describes these levels as nonparticipation.³ The lowest steps of the ladder are related to educating and informing, but not giving any power to influence decision-making.

Ladders three, four and five are degrees of tokenism and these are informing, consultation and placation. According to Arnstein these levels gives the participants ways to listen and to voice their opinion. Unfortunately these levels does not yet give the ones in power the compulsion to take those views into consideration. The last ladders are the degrees of citizen power. These are partnership, delegated power and citizen control. The last two shifts most of the power to the minorities.⁴

¹ Arnstein 1969, 216.

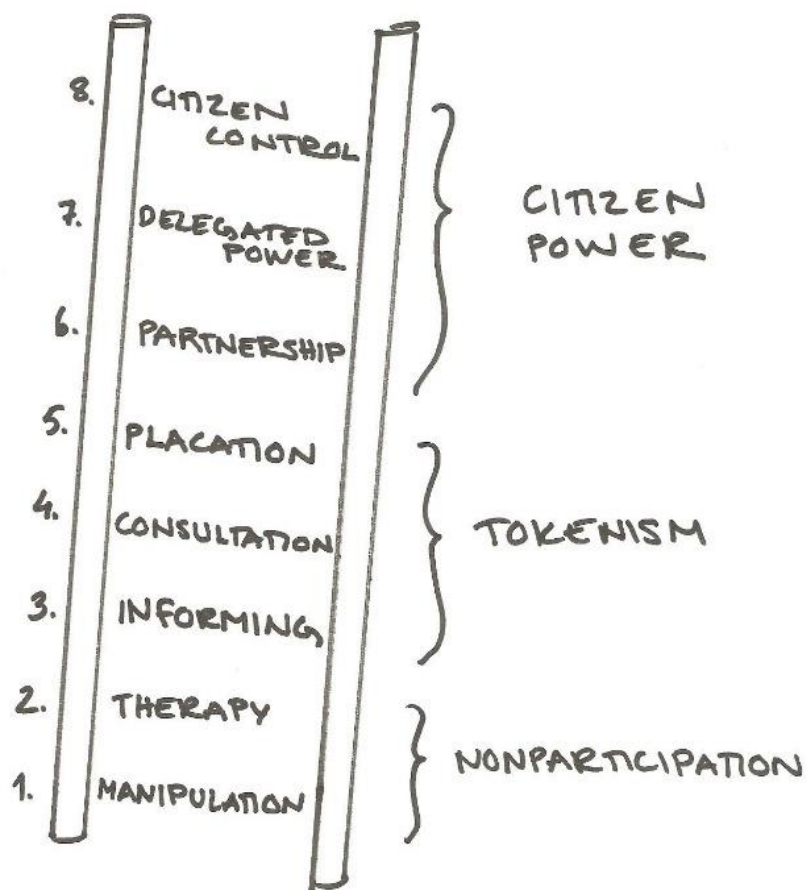
² Beck&Maida 2013, 1.

³ Arnstein 1969, 217.

⁴ Arnstein 1969, 217.

From placation and everything being planned for the participants, we can move to the partnership ladder. This is a ladder where both or all parties take part in giving and getting. In partnership everyone has the chance to influence in the outcome. According to Arnstein this was more often taken by the citizens than being given to. In many ways in the two latter rung, the roles fades out.¹

What Arnstein describes is guidelines on how to give power to the people. The emphasis is in giving citizens a chance and motivate them to participate in decision making. This is a very political view especially when applied on heritage. I have chosen to use a lot lighter meaning when using participation or engagement in this thesis, but the way participants are participating in activities is reflected on the ladders. The ladders describe the level of commitment even



² Sherry Arnstein's "Ladder of Participation". (image by author)

¹ Arnstein 1969, 221-223.

though I have excluded the notion of making the participation too political. Of course there is no escape from it and every heritage project is somehow political.

Heritage is political because there are questions about ownership, usage and tourism. It is also about national identity. Who participates in political decision-making is as important question as who participates in heritage. Aspects of heritage is silenced because they do not fit the current political atmosphere or the nation's identity. By creating awareness of uncomfortable heritage, the Lapland's Dark Heritage takes part in political discourse. It matters how people engage with the projects themes and how well the project manages to get people involved.

By creating a dialogue between stakeholders, various threats to heritage can be minimized and the benefits can be maximized.¹ By applying Arnstein's ladders in heritage work, the stress of power can be studied and re-evaluated. In this thesis the minorities such as the indigenous Sámis are not represented, but this work does include a part of history that have been a minority in the Finnish war narrative.

There are many different terms in use, but to put it understandably citizen participation is the umbrella in which participation related research and practices falls under and disbands to the modern disciplines. From citizen participation diverges community participation,² and it can be seen as a practice and practical work or policies and programs or as a philosophy. For tourism researcher Cevat Tosun community participation is a desired objective. He, as many other researchers, prefers to divide community participation into three categories.

These categories derives from the United Nations model from 1981. The three categories are spontaneous participation, induced participation and coercive participation. Spontaneous participation is a bottom-up approach, it is voluntary, active, direct and autonomous. Tosun calls this the ideal mode of participation

¹ Aas&al. 2005, 29.

² And for example Community Action Research and Participatory Rural Appraisal (Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008).

because in this mode the citizens are handling their issues without external help.¹ In Arnstein's ladders, spontaneous participation would be at the top.

Unlike spontaneous participation, induced participation is not a good mode of participation. Induced participation is a top-down approach. It is passive, indirect, formal, and it is even called pseudo-participation. In this mode, government initiates the participation and institutionalises it. This mode is similar to the middle-lower parts of Arnstein's ladders.

Coercive participation in the other hand is even worse mode of participation. It includes the features of induced participation, but the benefits of participation are not shared. It has a high degree of tokenism and non-participation. All of these three modes have several sub-categories that defines the modes even more, but are not relevant for this discussion.² Coercive participation is not directly comparative with Arnstein's lowest ladders, but they both have similar features.

I am not sure if I can say LDH project had a strategy to combine planning and spontaneous attitude, but that is what happened. Pekka Elo calls this a hybrid grip on the way of working. The hybrid way of working combines four different aspects. These four are authoritarian, democratic, impulsive and systematic.³

These three theories are the core of the analysis of participation in the two #InariDig public excavations. According to anthropologists Sam Beck and Carl A. Maida partnering with the people we study would help us to move towards a just world. For them this partnership would benefit the people we study and reduce inequities. The research can be done of people, communities or movements and Beck and Maida calls it decoding the cultures.⁴ The theories presented here will help in decoding culture and in finding meaning for dark heritage.

¹ Tosun 1999, 115-118.

² Tosun 1999, 115-121.

³ Elo 2005, 12-13.

⁴ Beck&Maida 2013, 1.

2.4. Archaeology and communities

According to Seitsonen and Herva, war has been studied in archaeology only modestly in Finland but recently there has been a swift in interest.¹

Archaeological mapping of areas is helpful for local communities as is any kind of project that documents history.² But the meaning of public or community archaeology is not only to benefit the community but to include it.

Public archaeology can be a way for professionals and non-professionals³ to pool their skills and knowledge together. In archaeology (and ethnology) this helps to understand, process and contextualise history and its events.⁴ Public and community archaeology are synonyms used to indicate similar and collateral archaeology.⁵ Public or community archaeology can be any archaeological research that the public can participate in and it can include any kind of communication with the public. Public archaeology is for example public excavations, but it is more than that.⁶

Archaeologist Gabriel Moshenska - who also participated the #InariDig excavation in 2016 - has developed a seven-part typology in purpose to help defining public archaeology. The first part in his typology is archaeologists working with the public, community archaeology run by for example universities. In our case the archaeology was not run by a university exactly, but the project can be assimilated with the course of conduct.⁷ Second part of Moshenska's typology is the archaeology done by the public which includes independent scholars, local societies, clubs and other amateur interest groups.

Third part is public sector archaeology that includes archaeological work carried on behalf any form of the government. Fourth part is archaeological education that includes formal and informal learning. In our case the learning was done online, both intentionally and informally. The fifth part is open archaeology, which means making archaeology publicly accessible. In our case this could

¹ Seitsonen&Herva 2011, 178.

² Isbell 2013, 151.

³ Non-professionals in that certain discipline.

⁴ Banks&al. 2017, 4.

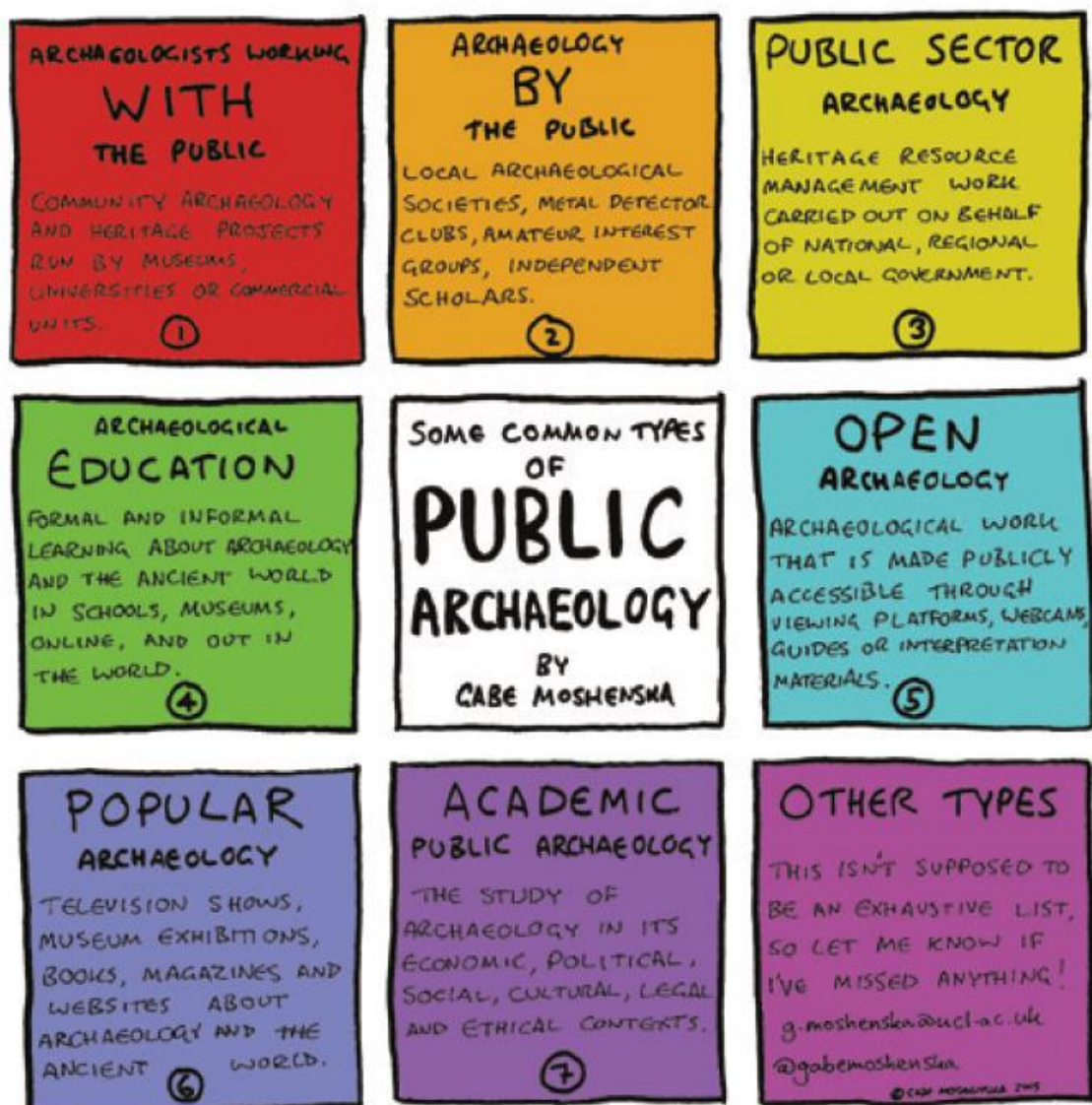
⁵ ToughtCo. website.

⁶ Siltainsuu 2012, 6-8.

⁷ Moshenska 2017, 5.

mean the guided tours or the open nature of the excavation or the information provided online for the public.¹

Sixth part is popular archaeology which includes museum exhibitions, television shows, websites and books about archaeology. This, for instance, does not include the exhibition in Arktikum because it was about the same theme but was not archaeology itself. The last part in Moshenska's typology is academic public archaeology which is described as "the study of archaeology in its economic, political, social, cultural, legal and ethical context". This is basically the everyday struggle of the discipline and others related to heritage.²



3 Some common types of public archaeology. (Moshenska 2017)

¹ Moshenska 2017, 6-7.

² Moshenska 2017, 8.

Like dark heritage, community archaeology is also relatively new thing especially in Finland. LDH is one of the first project to use the method and at the same time research the method. But Lapland's Dark Heritage -project is not the first to have a public excavation in Finland. Archaeologist Jenni Siltainsuu wrote a Master's thesis about public excavations in 2012. Her thesis was about an open excavation in Mankby, Espoo. According to her the first extensive public excavation in Finland was operated by the Science Center Heureka in Sandliden, Vantaa. She also mentions Varhainen Turku -project, the public excavation in Kierikki, and the excavation done at the hospital of Korholmen. In Finland public excavations has been done since the 1990's.¹

Archaeologist Jan Fast held public excavations at the site Tulliniemi in Hanko. Tulliniemi was a transit place for German military troops during WWII.² He has also done collaboration with the Science Center Heureka on a Neolithic site in Jokiniemi.³ Conflict archaeology in the arctic region has been done in Norway by the Norsk institutt for kulturminneforskning.⁴

Heritage projects engaging communities or using other participative methods are done largely all over the world. In Finland for example Europa Nostra has been involved with many projects and published a book about citizen participation and examples of projects within the body.⁵ Cultural heritage related projects have been done also in the Suomen Tammi collaboration project that has been involved in over 200 smaller heritage projects. These projects have mostly engaged school aged children.⁶

According to Hollowell and Nicholas, archaeologists have frequently used ethnography. This is done to supplement understanding of past life or to document archaeologists "intrusions" into landscapes or cityscapes. Hollowell and Nicholas criticises archaeologists past way of using their authority to dictate what is the best way to manage heritage.⁷ They have done research on the use

¹ Siltainsuu 2012, 17-19.

² The excavations of the "Deutsches Lager Hanko" -site were still undergoing while writing this thesis.

³ Blog of the archaeologist Jan Fast.

⁴ NIKU's website.

⁵ Halme&al. 2018.

⁶ See Finnish National Agency for Education's website.

⁷ Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 142.

of ethnography in archaeology and cultural heritage management with the cultural descendants. According to them, archaeologists have concerns of relinquishing control, which comes from professional work mixed with layman participation. This is seen as a threat to academic freedom or integrity of research.¹

LDH has received information and memories from the locals and generally the attitude towards the archaeological study of German sites has been received positively.² In 2006 the Lapland's Society of Military History was founded and its mission is to document Lapland's military history. Aki Romakkaniemi writes that the archaeological work done by Seitsonen was the starting point of research of Lapland War and the society intends to continue that work.³

2.5. Engagement

Social media from heritage work perspective is a new tool, but in commercial and marketing research it is widely accepted as an everyday part of any work. Only in the recent years has cultural heritage sites and museums really started to notice the advantages of social media. The scholars Linda Lotina and Krista Lepik consider social media as a trend that is finding its way to museums. They acknowledge social media to be a tool for a museum to become relevant in society. They see technological progress and social media as part to develop a more democratic worldview.⁴

Old ways and new ways of doing research often goes side by side. Compared to old ways of communicating, being online differs in one significant way. The information in webs is passed on both ways; everyone using internet is both a receiver and a distributor. According to historian Tapio Onnela one of the biggest problems with the massive amount of data in the internet is to transform it to knowledge and from that to wisdom.⁵

¹ Hollowell&Nicholas 2009, 142.

² Seitsonen&Herva 2017, 180.

³ Romakkaniemi 2012, 21. See also Lapin Sotahistoriallinen Seura ry's website.

⁴ Lotina&Lepik 2015, 123.

⁵ Onnela 2002, 447-449.

For a researcher the massive amount of information in the internet can be overwhelming.¹ Gathering research material or data from social media can help focusing on relevant topics instead trying to go through everything related to the topic or theme. It also makes it easier to criticise the sources and figuring out what is real and what is fake. Even fake profiles and comments tells something about us and our culture.² To Onnela, digital and online research is “naturally important”. To him the progress in global networks and its influence in our culture can be steered in better directions by bravely using new tools in academic research.³

The scholar Elisa Giaccardi describes the impact of social media on heritage discourse and its practices to be significant. She writes in the introduction chapter of one of the first scholarly publications on the impact that social media has in heritage as follows “—new technologies alter and transform the complex set of social practices that interweave memories, material traces and performative enactments to give meaning and significance in the present to the lived realities of our past”.⁴

An increase of user-generated content has been noted in the use of social media.⁵ Social media is seen beneficial in heritage work because of its ability to create a more participatory relationship between the professionals and the audiences. This relationship can be more interactive, collaborative and controversial than for example museums as instances can offer.⁶ The role of heritage professionals is changing as well with the content. This role is or at least should become more of facilitators than authoritative scripters, as the heritage professionals Neil Silberman and Margaret Purser describes the situation.⁷

Different kinds of social media channels, profiles and groups can help creating the sense of communality and citizen participation. Social media is a tool for

¹ Onnela 2002, 459.

² By fake profiles I mean false accounts created by people, not fake profiles operated by bots.

³ Onnela 2002, 465-468.

⁴ Giaccardi 2012, 1.

⁵ Leiner&al. 2018, 1.

⁶ Camarero&al. 2018, 1.

⁷ Silberman&Purser 2012, 13.

audiences to be more active in creating an interpretation of heritage.¹ The institution, project or group admin has a great role in maintaining the relationship, the level of engagement and activeness, but it can be difficult.² The possibilities social media creates are noted for example in political front. Facebook creates a possibility for users to interact with decision makers and therefore stimulate participation and democracy.³ Social media is also one step towards open data. Open data is needed to create a more homogenous database for WWII and an aggregated global view of the war.⁴

¹ Vs. passively received national and state-provided interpretation of heritage. See for example Silberman&Purser 2012, 14.

² For example Camarero&al. 2018.

³ Heiss&al. 2018, 2.

⁴ Koho&al. 2018.

3. Methods and material

3.1. From the field

This thesis combines many methods and the material is triangulate.¹ The basis for it is in the fieldwork and the social media. Material gathered doing ethnographic fieldwork can seem disorderly because the material can include various sets using various tools.² The material for this thesis was gathered by using a digital recorder for interviews and fieldwork notes and a smart phone for pictures, videos and social media. A desk computer and a laptop has been essential in the field and outside of it.

Few weeks is a short time for ethnographic fieldwork but I feel that I managed to gather plenty of material to go forward with. Both archaeology and ethnology are interdisciplinary subjects and that will make it hard to exclude one from the other. Archaeologists use ethnographic methods and ethnologists use objects as research material. The emphasis of the research is not on the excavation itself, and it is merely a tool to the main question which is participating. These organic aspects and materials forms a work of an ethnologist.

In 2016 there were nine volunteers participating in the excavation and in 2017 there were eleven. Five of the volunteers in 2017 were the same people as in 2016. The first excavation is called #InariDig and it lasted for five working days and most of the volunteers participated every day. The second one was named #InariDig2 and it lasted seven working days with a weekend full of excursions in the middle. In 2017, the whole excavation attracted eleven volunteers, but this year many came for only few days because they were unable to stay the whole excavation period. Only two of the volunteers participated in all the excavation and excursion days in 2017. Many of the previous year's volunteers wanted to join in the excavation again and luckily almost half of them could.

The first excavation lasted for a week, during which the site was open for volunteers and visitors from Monday to Friday. Every day there were seven to nine volunteers working there, and all of them came to the site on multiple days. I was the only one from the project team who attended an archaeological

¹ See for example Korkiakangas 2005, 139.

² Hämeenaho&Koskinen-Koivisto 2014, 16.

excavation for the first time and I got to experience the week very close as to how the volunteers experienced it. The difference was that I did not do any digging myself, and I asked the volunteers to tell me and my dictaphone, what they were doing.

During #InariDig most of the volunteers stayed the whole five days the project had planned for the excavation. In #InariDig2 there were ten spots open for volunteers which were all filled. This time the excavation was not as popular, and not all the spots were filled in few days like the year before. Google Forms was used as a platform for the official sign-up, but some of the last years' volunteers signed up quite late and one new volunteer signed up through one of the project members. The volunteers could not stay all the days reserved for excavation and that gave room for one extra volunteer. This means that in 2017 there were eleven volunteers participating in the excavation.

The material for this thesis includes twenty interviews, observation and the projects social media accounts. It includes LDH's social media content, nineteen tapes of interviews, one not recorded, and twenty-three individual responses to the feedback questionnaire conducted on 2016. Some interview recordings are more background chatter than comprehensive interviews, because I wanted to save the atmosphere of the experience for the future generations.

The volunteers were always informed of the digital recorder being on. The interviews were mostly done with the volunteers at the excavation site, except from two interviews that were done indoors with people who visited the excavation site. The interviews conducted in 2016 were done in collaboration with Tolppanen, though mostly led by myself. The interviews conducted in 2017 were all done by myself. My fieldnotes are similar recordings and hence references are coded alike.

Ethnologist Anne Ala-Pöllänen portrays her ethnographic work deriving from being present, observation, feelings, knowledge, and interaction.¹ At the field, were it at the sites or in social media, the most important method was being

¹ Ala-Pöllänen 2017, 19.

present. Getting as close as possible to the target of interest is important part of ethnological fieldwork.¹ In this thesis I use the word “participant” or “volunteer” of the people studied and couple of times “interviewee” to separate the volunteers from other the interviewed visitors. The research subject is not only the volunteers on an open excavation, nor the people following the project’s social media but the project and the researchers in it as well. I have tried to look at the experience as a whole.

3.2. From social media

Digital technology has increased possibilities of communication, engagement and participation.² The material for my thesis includes all the social media channels the project has, but I have limited them to include only the posts about #InariDigs. I analysed statistics and reactions of Facebook users, the distribution and spread of Twitter and Instagram. The analysis of the social media channels includes messages, comments, over a hundred pictures and few videos. The project also did a survey that had 23 valid responses³, which gave support for making conclusions on how did people find out about the excavations and how do they feel about the work the project does.

This survey was for anyone following our social networking sites. This includes different social media sites, the blog and those who engaged with the excavation physically. The survey was posted in Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. It was targeted for people who already followed the project in social media directly or indirectly. All the respondents did not answer all the questions, but that is to be expected. Not all the questions are relevant or interesting for the respondents.⁴

The survey was conducted after the first excavation and posted in LDH’s social media channels. The platform for it was Google Forms and had fifteen questions.⁵ In addition to the basic information the survey had questions similar to the interview questions and few related to only social media. In the survey the

¹ Ruotsala 2005, 45.

² Marcus 2014, 47.

³ There were 24 responses, but only 23 valid ones as one of the response sheets was empty.

⁴ For example Korkiakangas 2005, 137.

⁵ See Survey form.

respondents were also asked to give feedback and send greetings for the project team. Even though there were not that many respondents, the responses the project received was essential especially in the direction the social media should take.

I made the survey with the support of the team members. I wanted it to keep up with the tone of Facebook's light tone and therefore I decided to create a lighter survey with response options that were not too serious. A survey should not be long and it should only request responses to questions relevant for the study.¹ The questions were as short as possible, but still wordy enough to be understandable. The survey was done in English because multilingual survey would have been more time consuming and require more technical abilities that I at that time possessed. With a survey in English there was a chance to reach both Finnish and international followers. Having the survey executed in one language only which might explain why the response rate was not higher.

One of my main roles during the fieldwork periods was to keep our social media up to date. That involved the project's blog, Facebook page (Lapland's Dark Heritage) and Instagram (@dig_inari) account. Other members were mainly in charge of our Twitter (@DarkLapland) account, but that was part of my social media domain also. The project had had the blog and the Twitter account before I joined the group, which is why it was natural for the researchers to keep updating them. We posted in the blog in turns but I made some modifications to the structure, and the original team members did most of the work in Twitter.

I count the blog as a social media platform, even though it is a more official way to share information. Blogs are usually more informative than engaging to the reader than the platforms typically seen as social media sites.² Social media has a lot of user-generated content, but a blog is more top-down approach to sharing information. LDH's blog in this case is a social networking site simply because it is used as a mean to engage the audience. The project's blog has the option to comment on posts and any information about WWII sites can be

¹ Leimu 2005, 79.

² According to Techopedia, blogs are under the Web 2.0 umbrella with for example YouTube, but not as such included in social media outlets. (Techopedia: *What is the difference between social media and Web 2.0?*)

marked on a map.¹ LDH had the blog before I joined and the first post is from January 27th of 2015. The first post announced the blog as active and informed its readers that the project has a Twitter account and an email address.² The blog is a good tool for studying engagement because the activity can be monitored by Google Analytics.

The project's Twitter account was made on February 21st of 2015.³ The first tweet was a link to a war time related cultural heritage article in the perspective of forests and the material found there.⁴ Although Twitter is not originally used for sharing pictures, it has become a good platform to reach large audiences with pictures.⁵ As the character count for a tweet is only 140, especially tweeting in Finnish language can be very limited.⁶ They say pictures tell more than a thousand words and they certainly tell more than 140 characters.

Instagram is more suited for pictures. I created an account in Instagram for the project in July 2016. The first post was a picture of Kankiniemi's prisoner of war camp that the project had visited in the previous year.⁷ In Instagram we posted also videos, as they are a good way to get people interested and engaged. Wesa Perttola, the university lecturer in University of Helsinki, is one of the admins for @archaeology.helsinkiuni and he made videos using drones and other kind of equipment. With a separate application it is possible to repost those videos and reach a bigger audience with more accounts posting them.

Reposting or retweeting is an implemented feature in Twitter but not in Instagram. That means that those two platforms have different attributes in what the outlet is made to use for. Instagram emphasises on original content and Twitter a wider audience. That makes Instagram a lot more personal platform

¹ Blog of Lapland's Dark Heritage: *Mark WW2 sites into the map!* and Lapin synkkä kulttuuriperintö – sotahistoriallisia kohteita in grafetee.com.

² Blog of Lapland's Dark Heritage: *New research blog*.

³ Twitter: @DarkLapland *Metsähallituksen kulttuuriperintöinventoinnissa...*

⁴ Helsingin Sanomat: 21.2.2016 *Suurtutkimus valmistui: Suomen metsistä paljastui valtava määrä sota-ajan hautoja, vankileirejä ja tukikohtia.*

⁵ Twitter introduced new features including posting pictures through Twitter in 2011. According to Omnicore Agency in January 2018 there were 330 million active users. (Omnicore Agency: *Twitter by the Numbers*.)

⁶ Twitter increased the limit of characters to 280 at the end of 2017. (Techcrunch: *Twitter officially expands its character count to 280 starting today*.)

⁷ Instagram: @dig_inari *A peek of the project's previous adventures*.

than Twitter. Twitter on the other hand is easier to use to get news to spread fast and widely. Even though both of them are suitable for international audience, Twitter is clearly used more by other nationality than Finnish.¹

Facebook is a combination of all the above. Facebook is a good platform to share pictures, spread news, post longer blog-like texts and share videos. Facebook uses hashtags like Instagram and Twitter, but to my experience they are not so commonly utilised by the users. Instagram can be linked with Facebook so that posts are visible in both platforms. I decided not to link these two accounts to keep the content separate from each other. I assumed many of the followers were the same in both social networking sites and linked accounts would create been repetitive posts for those followers.

In this thesis I do not analyse the pictures in social themselves, but the level of engagement. I use the pictures here to visualize atmosphere and as an illustrative tool within the text.² Using pictures in a research that requires fieldwork should include planning of what, how and why photograph in the field.³ Planned photographing would create a more cohesive source material for a study. During #InariDigs the plan was not premeditated, but many of the team members had a camera or camera phone on hand almost all the time.

Photographs are described to be about the Other, because they display a visual image of the target of interest.⁴ But I suggest that this view is changing with the camera phones and social media. The pictures today tells more about where the researcher was and what did they see. With selfie-sticks the pictures can include the researcher themselves.

The project uses Google Account for the previously mentioned survey in Google Forms, email in Google Gmail, Google Docs to write in collaboration and YouTube for videos. Four of the YouTube videos are about #InariDigs and three about dark and community heritage, seven altogether. The videos related to

¹ According to DNA's social media barometer (Digitaalisen elämäntavan tutkimus) done in 2017 only 10% out of a sample of 1005 Finnish social media users uses Twitter daily. In comparison, 60% of the same sample uses Facebook daily.

² Sinisalo 2005, 214.

³ Sinisalo2005, 216.

⁴ Bagayoko&Tawah 2014, 186.

#InariDigs range from minute and thirty-five seconds to little over twenty-four minutes.

Even though the material of social media seems large due to the different channels and profiles, the amount content is petite. Thus the analyse part of the content is shorter and more quantitative. This does not indicate, however, that social media would be any less important to the project or its events and activities. Referring to earlier, being online is not separate from being offline and they interlace. Using pictures to supplement ethnographic description shows the reader glimpses of online engagement.

3.3. Ethnographic method and analysis

Before entering the field, I did not know what to expect. I knew there would be mosquitoes and it could be quite cold. I knew the activities I was going to participate could be rather messy and I knew I needed proper outdoor gear.¹ I did not own my own gear which lead to borrowing clothes from my sister and wearing rubber boots in the woods. I met with the project's team members few times briefly, but was not part of the planning process. I got in touch with a student from Aberdeen University and we booked a cabin close to the village center of Inari together. I arrived at the cabin a day before my companion did and I had never met her before. We bonded instantly because we had bought similar things from the grocery store and luckily we got along well.

In 2017 when it was the second time to leave for the field, I was better prepared. I had bought my own gear for outdoors and proper hiking shoes. All the researchers had joined accommodation in two cabins, which made me feel more of part of the team. In 2016 I left few days after the excavation had finished, but next year I stayed for an extra week. This week six of the research team toured in Lapland sight-seeing WWII monuments and for example looking for partisan sites. These two experiences were very different from each other, but at the same time the atmosphere was similar in both years.

Participating and observing in the field is considered to be the essence of ethnographical fieldwork. Even though I did not dig myself, I actively observed

¹ See Appendix 2.

the digging and participated in other aspects of the experience. By this I mean everything from carrying shovels to excursions and lectures. The whole time at the site, travelling to sites and excursions and admiring the sunset at the end of the summer of nightless nights, is a shared experience by all participants.

One of the important part of ethnography is the descriptive writing. Thus I have added pieces of my fieldnotes as a secondary source for atmosphere. The pictures will help in the process of describing atmosphere and activities, and they are an essential part of fieldwork. I alone took thousands of pictures and the other team members and volunteers a few thousand more. For this thesis I limited them to include only ones posted in the project's social media channels. Those pictures are part of participation in social media and are already once selected as representative.

I would like to say I analysed the material systematically, but that is not what happened. I listened to the interview and fieldnote tapes in disorder and tried to pick out any themes that recurred. I listened carefully to what the participants considered important or meaningful. I tried to find the line where collective and individual entwined.¹ I consider it interesting what experiences and motivations were shared by the volunteers and what individual experiences stood out. The interview questions were formulated before the first excavation in 2016 and I continued having conversations with the volunteers along the same lines during the second excavation in 2017. But it is impossible to complete exhaustive ethnological fieldwork and there is always more questions to be asked.²

3.4. Ethics

All the volunteers and visitors that were interviewed had to fill out a form where they gave consent to use the information gathered during the excavation period in research. Participating in the research was voluntary and with notice could have been terminated at any time. Permission was given in writing for the interviews and for the use of pictures.³ Responding in a survey is seen as indication of consent.⁴

¹ Korkiakangas 2005, 137.

² Fingerroos&Jouhki 2014, 102.

³ See Appendix 3 and Appendix 4.

⁴ TENK guidelines 1.1.

Volunteers and interviewees were informed that the research material would be stored by the researchers until the end of the project and then archived accordingly. Volunteers and interviewees could choose whether they wanted to have their pictures and interviews archived for later academic use or used exclusively during the project. All the material used in this thesis belongs to Lapland's Dark Heritage project and are archived accordingly with other material gathered by the project.

The permission forms had information about the project and contact information. Volunteers and other interviewees were given the opportunity to ask for more information during the interview and after it.¹ As stated in the National Advisory Board on Research Ethics' (TENK) guidelines for humanities "[i]n some studies, such as studies based on participant observation, the research relation deepens over time, and it is natural to provide increasingly detailed information on the objectives and content of the study along the way".² Especially in the conditions of #InariDig excavations, this was a very natural way of sharing information and concerns.

The project took every necessary steps ensuring the safety of the volunteers. For example the volunteers were given instructions on how to prepare for an excavation and they were provided with proper tools to work with. The registration form included a section to ensure the volunteers had an effectual tetanus vaccination.³

I have chosen not to translate the accents and dialects of the participants.⁴ This is because it is nearly impossible to do so from Finnish to English and it helps with the anonymisation. I have tried to translate the quotes word-for-word as much as possible. I have also chosen not to name each participant or give them codes to differentiate individuals. I have done so because the group is small and again it helps in the anonymisation process. The interview tapes are time stamped and I use those stamps as references to each tape instead of an individual. One tape can include interviews with multiple participants.

¹ TENK guidelines 1.1. and 1.2.

² TENK guidelines 1.4.

³ See Registration form and Appendix 5.

⁴ As did Tolppanen 2017, 21.

The project had a strict policy towards protecting the gathered material. None of the recordings were sent through web-based programs before ensuring safe data transfer. The consent forms are on paper and they have not been scanned on any computers. These measures and safely storing the data secures the confidentiality of the interviewees and volunteers.¹

I have decided to make the individuals anonymous even though I have a feeling the volunteers might have agreed on using their names in different academic publications. This decision was made because I feel that as a researcher I can prevent misunderstandings. History teaches us that things can be seen in different light in different times, and what is said lightly now can turn negative in a different political climate. Harm now and in the future can be avoided by not using identifiers and further the anonymisation process.²

A person who works with social media and heritage should always be aware of the rules and regulations of the used platforms. The policies of social networking companies forms the borders of the content heritage professionals can use. Posting images of questionable meanings can be seen as a violation of rules but also stigmatise the account as something that the heritage professionals have not intended. A project such as LDH can attract a crowd that seeks to find meaning for the current political atmosphere that are not meant by the communicator. More about the regulations of the platforms in chapter five.

¹ TENK guidelines 3.1. and 3.2.

² TENK guidelines 3.1. and 3.3.

4. Offline participation

4.1. Introduction to sites and excavations

It was grey when we stepped on the path for the first time. The path was narrow and we walked one after another. The forest around us was green and wet. We walked in silence covered in our hood, carrying shovels and other necessities. The path was blocked by a fallen tree and everyone went over it in their own style. From the rusty old car we stepped deeper in the forest and every step of the way there was an audible crunch. A crunch you know it is not from the branches, not the roots, nor anywhere from the nature. There were concealed memories under the moss.¹

This is how I described the first impression of the 2016 excavation site which was a military hospital site. Lapland's Dark Heritage team chose the site for this project because there has been very little archaeological projects exploring the WWII sites in Finland, especially in Lapland. The project is doing something new, the previous archaeological studies have mainly concentrated on more martial sites. Choosing a hospital site instead of a fortification, a prisoner-of-war camp or any other kind of military facility is a deliberate way of breaking the ground in one area.²

According to Banks, Koskinen-Koivisto and Seitsonen, the hospital site forms a pertinent part of local heritage. The team knew about the site from interviews conducted with the local people. The information in that came up was that German doctors and nurses treated not only the German soldiers, but also the local residents in the hospital. A local history expert, Matti Lehtola, was one of the interviewees and told the project that his father had been treated by the German dentists during the war.³

The basis for the excavation and participation was built using the fourth rung in Arnstein's ladder. This is a clear invitation of opinions and by having the

¹ Hekkurainen 2017.

² Banks&al. 2017, 1.

³ Banks&al. 2017, 6. Though when I met him in 2016 I recall him telling about himself visiting the hospital. Unfortunately I had no digital recorders on hand. Locals being able to use the German facilities is mentioned in other sources as well, for example Kulju 2017, 65.

excavation at the site was an assurance that the information was taken into account. Arnstein warns that if consultation is not combined with other modes of participation, full participation is not achieved.¹ Lehtola later in #InariDig week used his role as an expert, when he was invited to give a guided tour in the village.² This tour was a highlight of the first public excavation period because it attracted the most visitors and volunteers to engage.

It is not enough to get people to “participate in participation”, as Arnstein describes it. It is about all parties adjusting their attitudes and consider their values. Because LDH is a research project, not a citizen participation project, it is good to step on many ladders. The project educates and informs people, which would be in the lowest steps of the ladder. The project’s researchers takes advantage of the fourth ladder and asks for consultations from the locals and the participants.

For the researchers the most beneficial part of having volunteers participating in the excavations was the expertise the volunteers brought to the pool of information, knowledge and way of working. For example one of the volunteers has a medical background and was able to recognise several items in the hospital ruins.³ Or for example one of the volunteers made beautiful sketches of the possible sacred place of the Sámi.⁴

In my fieldnotes at the end of the first archaeological excavation, I stated that it was such a pleasure to see how enthusiastic everyone was. Many of the volunteers took the role of an expert in the field even though they might not have much or any previous knowledge about archaeology, ethnology or even the history of the WWII events. I considered it to be a good thing that none of the academics were cocky even though they were the experts on the subject. In the notes I give thanks to everyone involved and especially consider it a good thing that when we found something new from the ground, we pondered what it

¹ Arnstein 1969, 219.

² More information about the history of Inari village in Lehtola 2012.

³ Banks&al. 2017, 6 and fieldnotes 160801_0002.

⁴ Facebook: Backfilling.

could be together. I could not believe how much pleasure community archaeology could give to our volunteers.¹

The excavation in 2017 lasted for seven days divided by a productive weekend full of excursions in the middle (Mon-Wed), because we had learned from the #InariDig that five days of excavation is a short time. Those five days were hectic for the researchers and left the volunteers crave for a lot more. For #InariDig2 we decided to have eight excavation days and a field-day weekend in between. This however proved to be as problematic as the short excavation period. Many of our volunteers travelled a long way to participate and it is hard to get time off from work for a week and a half plus the days to spend travelling. Especially those with children or those who do not drive a car themselves or those who have troubles with booking an accommodation. The project did not announce the excavation days early enough, which meant that many of the volunteers could only participate in few carefully selected days because of timing issues.

The excavation leader, Oula Seitsonen, who was more familiar with the surroundings offered help to the volunteers in finding accommodation around the local area. At first the days were spent in getting to know the work, the surroundings and the people. After having spent a day or two at the excavation site, very few cared who travelled in whose car as long as everyone would get where they were going.

In #InariDig the excavation area was selected for multiple reasons, but throughout keeping the volunteers in mind. One of the most important reasons a site where a German military hospital had been, was because of its accessible attribute. It was not too far from the village of Inari and there were parking space close to the site. The village provided accommodations, restaurants, and most importantly the Sámi Museum Siida which operated as our host. The museum has great facilities for small lectures and it is easy to find for those who are not familiar with the village. For the first meeting of the group for both excavations, Siida was chosen as the meeting point.

¹ 160806_0017.

Another important reason of choosing the hospital site was that there were plenty of surface material. This is an important reason because it gives the volunteers the joy of discovery. The last reason was safety. During the Lapland War the German army retreated to Norway using tactic known as the scorched earth. This means that there are still large amounts of potentially functioning unexploded ordnance (UXO) in the ground. The German troops destroyed more than just military bases and equipment, and planted landmines in the soil that now we consider as wilderness. A hospital site is of course not a guarantee of safety, but the probability of UXO was unlikely.¹

The project leader Herva commented why the hospital site was chosen as follows:

Yes, with this one is also that, why this was chosen was pretty much for logistic reasons. Partly because we knew that this is a safe site and in a way easy, although the terrain is a bit awful and there are a lot of places that are more beautiful, but there are other things to consider in them. But it was nice to hear you overall liked the place that was chosen.²

The excavation site for #InariDig2 was chosen within the same parameters, but this time with a sense of darker heritage.³ The site in Hyljelahti was in between Kaamanen and Inari which meant that there were more options for spending lunch breaks indoors, for example. Hyljelahti had a lot less materiel on the surface, but there were trenches that were excavated in more archaeologist fashion. By this I mean that there were two sections that were excavated layer by layer to see what was man-made and what was natural. The most material was found in a trash pit, which led us to the conclusion that the site was not a POW camp after all.

The excavations themselves had volunteers participating in the dig, including people all the way from the most southern parts of Finland. Only few of the volunteers had close connections to the local area and many travelled long distances to participate. The excavations were planned, but the plans were

¹ Banks&al. 2017, 2 and Seitsonen&Herva 2017, 177. Following TENK guidelines section 2 of avoiding doing harm.

² 160805_0016.

³ See Appendix 6.

changed according to the weather, atmosphere and mood, energy, and for example how many visitors were on the site or just what overall seemed interesting. This means that the decisions were made both according to the plan and impromptu. They were also made together with the researchers and the participants. This could be described as a hybrid grip of working.¹

4.2. Motivations

In the following chapters the most important points from the interview material are presented. I have excluded all the interviews done by other team members and include the ones done at the site with the volunteers or the few interviews done with the other participants who visited the sites and were willing to tell about their interests. This is the start of one interview in August 2017:

M: Okay. Today is Friday 12th, right?

V: About, sure.

[Someone yells from the background]: 11th!

M: Okay so Friday 11th and here we are at the excavation site.

[Talk about how good it was that she joined us again after being away for couple of days.]

M: Could you tell me why are you here digging?

V: Oh, how much time do we have? [laughter]

M: Well, there's 26 hours left on the tape. If we start with that.

[laughter]

V: Oh right, let's start with that!²

It is hard to get participants to be involved in the planning of LDH both because things happen so slowly and because they happen suddenly. Unfortunately in planning LDH events not every participant can be taken into consideration, but relationship in certain planning and decision making has proven to be crucial.³ This means the participation is done in the moment and quite spontaneous.

¹ Elo 2005, 12-13.

² 170811_0033, V as in volunteer and M as in the interviewer.

³ Arnstein 1969, 222.

The reasons or motivations to participate in any activities provided by the project during excavations were similar to many. One of the volunteers told us in 2017 why she decided to participate in the excavation:

I came because I was last year. And liked it last year. And I reserved a spot last year in good time. If it is possible to come again, I was interested already at that moment. And luckily it worked out.¹

Half of the participants from the first year joined again the next year. Most of the participants from #InariDig wanted to join again, but unfortunately the timing was not right. Many of the participants we managed to interview spoke about timing being an important thing for participating.

I came because [--] I have been thinking what this would be like, and now it was possible, and even close to my hometown. It was a good combination that made it possible to come here.²

Even though people had travel great distances to participate, this did not appear in the interviews except in the stories of how they got there. Two of the volunteers participating in 2016 were so keen to participate again in 2017 that they drove hastily both around 1000 kilometres. Both of them tried to minimize the stops and drove almost continuously the whole way. One volunteer told a story how she had a cooler next to her seat and she ate without stopping until she was so exhausted that she slept at a parking lot in her car. The other one had made camp for night and shared a meal with a curious fox.³

Still, participation is not democratic and not everyone gets to participate in the excavation. A volunteer would need to have the time according to the projects timetables, they would have to have their own car and equipment for the northern outdoors and because so many of the visiting researchers are foreign, basic English skills was a clear benefit at the site. I assume there were more people who were interested in participating, but not being able to because of

¹ 170808_0027.

² 170808_0027.

³ 170811_0034 and 170814_0035.

economic reasons. Social media and other social networking channels on the other hand lowers the bar of who gets to engage with the project.

One of the volunteers commented this in the summary interview on the last day of the dig in 2016:

It's always the location, that Inari is pretty far from everyone. So let's say if the excavation is for example here, and you're from Helsinki let alone from Åland, it is pretty high threshold to leave just for being interested. If one has four weeks of summer vacation, that people usually have, so this plus travel, it can well come up to a week and a half, almost two weeks one has to use for it.¹



4 Outdoors fun captured by a drone. (image by Perttola, posted in Facebook)

¹ 160805_0016.

One person who attended one of the guided tours told that her reasons to participate were that the tour was “a nifty way of receiving information” and the timing of the tour fit her timetable.¹ Another person visiting the site was in Inari with his grandchildren and though he could not visit any other site on that trip, visiting the excavation site fitted his timetables.²

Visiting WWII sites can be challenging especially with children. Many of the participants spoke about accessibility. One participant pointed out that most of the sites are in the middle of forests and hard to reach with a car, that the paths can literally break the vehicle.³ Another participants said that it was not hard to find the location of 2017, but the parking lot was very dangerous to exit.⁴ Physical accessibility is an important part to take into consideration if there are plans to transform any of the WWII sites to tourist attractions. One of the participants considers the accessibility problem gotten better in the past few years, but there still are problems.⁵

Some of the Siltainsuu’s respondents considered the public participating in excavations a social and economic threat for the professionals. The respondents thought the volunteers can take space from the educated professionals and lower the standards of archaeology.⁶ There were no expectations for previous archaeological experience to participate in the #InariDigs and the sites were chosen carefully that aspect in mind. One of the volunteers commented on this:

And one thing that... This differs so much from what I do for work. I don't have to think and I have noticed I don't think [laughter]
Sometimes I listen and nod a lot when instructions are given and when it's over and [inaudible because of laughter] has left and I ask from the person next to me “What did he say?”.[--] You are almost given a permission, maybe, in that way. They said there we can't

¹ 160802_0003.

² 160803_0010.

³ 160803_0010.

⁴ 170808_0027.

⁵ 160803_0010.

⁶ Siltainsuu 2012, 73.

screw this up and that we don't have to know anything, you get a permission to be freely.¹

Action research has received critique and there are concerns of the quality of the studies. The problem can be how in depth the participation is and is the outcome satisfactory if the quality and validity are threatened.² Even though there were no danger of ruining the excavation, the volunteers were keen on learning how to do the work properly. Only few of the volunteers confirmed having background in archaeology, and one told us she had a hobby in marine archaeology and that she had done for example photogrammetry before.³

Not many of the volunteers mentioned their interest in war history, but there was a sense of interest in history overall. Both the visitors and the volunteers mentioned the life and experiences during or after the war.

I wanted to join because I have had this interest in war, or more like the life after the war, living and people and experience and how those things have moved on after the war. In my work, I have worked with veterans and heard their stories and their experiences. In my own life my father was an evacuee adopted here in Helsinki and even in a family where the adopted mother had been a daughter of a German sea captain, and then war and the era after the war has been important in the family. So that is why I am interested in this and these things.⁴

Few of the participants connected the German time with nature. For some it was about the excavation and being outdoors similarly to other outdoor activities one can do in Lapland. Others compared the nature and the feelings of the German soldiers who came from completely different conditions to Lapland. One of the volunteers described the excavation as such:

This is the same as fishing or sailing or mountain climbing, this is a certain kind of secede and you don't think much while digging. Or

¹ 170811_0033.

² For example Ozanne&Saaticioglu 2008.

³ 160804_0011 and 160803_0005.

⁴ 160803_0005.

like chopping trees, emptying your mind. And it's always interesting if something is found. Like fishing, if you get the big fish, here it is if you find the German Medal of Honor.¹

Many volunteers thought the benefits of participating was to be able to be outdoors and have fun.² They also mentioned being part of a community and other social aspects. For few the mere pleasure of doing volunteer work was a benefit and some mentioned learning new and being around researchers.

This is my understanding of a summer vacation. [laughter] To do something meaningful. [--] I feel like I'm doing something that has meaning, that hopefully something is found, things and objects that gives us new information. [--] I wanted to try something completely new.³

Siltainsuu considers open excavations to be both non-formal and formal learning environment. She sees that the most important part of archaeology forming a learning environment is the space, the authenticity and learning in the real world. In her study she became aware that the learning of the participants at an excavation is both meaningful and empirical. She also points out that at an open excavation the participants can get in contact with the tacit knowledge of the professionals.⁴

Learning something had a lot to do with the learning environment provided. Visiting the excavation site, but not participating in the digging was about seeing it yourself and getting information from the professionals. Seeing the site yourself gave the visitors existing knowledge base "meat around the bones". Existing knowledge was gathered from books written by both Finnish and Germans.⁵

There is not enough data to conclude this, but it seems the visitors have more foreknowledge of the German presence and Lapland war than the volunteer

¹ 170809_0028.

² For example 170809_0028, 170811_0033 and 160803_0005.

³ 160805_0014.

⁴ Siltainsuu 2012, 27 and 70.

⁵ 160803_0010.

excavators. Koskinen-Koivisto noted in her research about Norvajärvi cemetery that the tourists who visited the site had previous knowledge about the dark heritage of Lapland. Visiting the site deepened the tourists understanding of the war and the same phenomena could be observed among the visitors of the excavation site.

For one volunteer it did not matter what kind of archaeological site it was, but did mention that her perspective had changed over the course of the excavation period:

Per se it didn't matter the... kinda... I don't have any particular interest in German sites, but on the other hand in certain way here, where you all the time hear the stories that the archaeologists are telling all and the personal view is expanded from what it was, when you get a lot more information. Immediately it's more interesting when you know more.¹

Lotina and Lepik uses Morris Hargreaves McIntyre's four types of engagement to explain why individuals choose to engage. These are intellectual, emotional, spiritual and social. The same four types of engagements can be used to identify the reason why people participate in heritage work or join a community archaeology program. Lotina and Lepik points out that why and how engagement occurs depends less on the context.²

One volunteer described the attending in an open excavation to have professional benefits. She and her husband are conservators and thought that participating in an archaeological excavation would give perspective to their work even though it rarely includes archaeological finds.³ In 2017 we had two students studying European ethnology and two conservators attending the excavation. One of the volunteers said part of the fun is that he does not have to do archaeology for work and he can just do it as a hobby.⁴ For those who are not working with heritage the experience was as interesting.

¹ 170810_0030.

² Lotina&Lepik 2015, 126.

³ 170810_0029.

⁴ 170816_0037.

I like following the work of different professionals and a strange world for me, learn new and somehow... this in a way is educational.¹

Learning is a social phenomenon and during the excavation the volunteers and visitors learned about archaeology and cultural heritage.² For those who just visited the site, it was about learning more but for the volunteers it was about doing and being a part of a community.

And that one thing is one, not everyone joins this. And that prunes the group after all. Nobody comes here for just fun. After all. There's after all same-minded people.³

It's more of social life for me than just digging or something. For me it is really important aspect to be with people and get to know people.⁴

For me this is more social activity. That I get to be part of a certain kind of community.⁵

According to Ozanne and Saatcioglu action researchers often assume unitary and homogenous community.⁶ When the community is artificially made as was in the case of the excavations, the group can be rather homogenous. Not that the volunteers are the same or copies of each other, but working together and wanting do specific activities in a group, brings similar-minded people together.

One of the volunteers thought that both being with other volunteers and being around the researchers was beneficial:

[Working together] is really nice and then the, when you hear all kinds of things from people and everyone has that kind of excited

¹ 170810_0028.

² Siltainsuu approached public excavation from this point of view. She considers archaeological excavations to be foremost a learning environment. More of learning and public archaeology in Finland, see Siltainsuu 2012.

³ 170811_0033.

⁴ 170810_0030.

⁵ 170810_0028.

⁶ Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

burning, it is so fun. And then, when these kinds of people who has this as their profession, you learn a lot from them.¹

Being part of a community was maybe the most important thing the volunteers mentioned. Having same-minded people around and making friends that keeps in touch even after the excavation is finished. Only one person mentioned that if she has the opportunity to do something like this again, she would try to get her sister to go along. Though the reason was more that said sister would have enjoyed it also and that the volunteer was having fun without a familiar companion.²

One of the volunteers described his interest in the subject to come partly from the WWII related sites located on his lands.³ But not all motivations were positive to begin with. One of the volunteers described her feelings of the first day of the excavation in 2016 that she could not participate in as follows:

What I first thought, that on Monday morning... I wasn't here on Monday myself, and erm, I thought about it this way, that the nature is telling us that don't go there poking around old places and let memories be, because I have family from my husband's side, and they couldn't talk about things even before death. That when this is still so sensitive on feelings side, and otherwise too. Even though memories grow sweeter with time, it has not grown sweeter at least for those people I have had... To get to know. And now that there's talk that there's no more people alive that could remember at least not many. That, why not until now... Why not ten years ago?⁴

Archaeology showed as investigators work for couple of the volunteers. One of them described is as such when I asked if he is willing to leave before the excavation period ends:

Well erm, I have to say that now, now the situation is that I have to leave. No, I of course would not like to leave. Here, it is like, even

¹ 160804_0011.

² 160805_0014.

³ 170809_0045

⁴ 160803_0005.

though the excavation findings are not so interesting, otherwise it has been very interesting, interesting. Again a little, erm, educate yourself and it's, when we went around the places on Saturday, it's fun imaginary play when you try to as an amateur to come up with what was there and what has happened here and erm, it's kind of layman private investigator work.¹

Another volunteer compared archaeology in investigatory work also:

I find this kind of work and investigating this kind of things meaningful so it is somehow satisfying to be part of this kind of project or a thing.²

Investigating history, being outdoors and having fun work with fun people was the essence in the reasons for the volunteers to participate. Outdoors became to life that could be compared to augmented reality.³ One of the volunteers summed the motivations behind participating well:

This is a great excuse to come up here to the North. It is overall nice to be here. And erm, this is fun busy work outdoors all day, nice people and, and... this is unfamiliar to me... and this is very interesting the whole time even though it is only useless junk we come across with.⁴

4.3. Entwined with tangible

I asked one of the volunteers if she had dug before like this. She told me she had had one very unsuccessful vegetable garden and that was closest she had done to the work she was doing at the excavation site.⁵ Another volunteer revealed that he had practiced being down on his feet for a week and a half by building a terrace for his house.⁶

For other volunteers it meant more what was found in the ground:

¹ 170814_0037.

² 170810_0029.

³ For example 170809_0028 or 160802_0003.

⁴ 170814_0035.

⁵ 160805_0014.

⁶ 160804_0011.

I feel a bit, when digging there, and there's leather pieces and fractures of a bone and at the same time I am wishing that nothing too gross is found. So like, I am already used to the smell, I have already associated with the smell last year and now it's already a familiar thing, that what the old pits, what kind of smell the objects have, now it does not bother me. [laughter]¹

Participating in the excavations is a very bodily experience. Senses are not only connected on how we perceive the surrounding world, but also how we perceive history.² Senses intertwine with the history becoming live but also with remembering and experiencing the events. The digital recorder captured mosquitoes buzzing and some of the tapes are almost inaudible because the rain dampened the dictaphone. In #InariDig the team found structures that were clearly burned down. The soil smelled of petrol and a flare was found.³

Not just *what* was found, but also *how* things were found was important:

And this is also nice that, first you are like here you are digging a hole, but that is, this is crude work that you do, and the treasures and conclusions doesn't come given to you. It just is. And it's nice that you get to do stuff here and it's not like "let me do, you watch from there" then it would be very boring.⁴

It clearly was "crude work" as many volunteers commented on it. This emphasized the need for proper gear especially to have something to protect the knees. In the 2016 tapes one can hear the crunching on each step because there was huge amounts of glass and porcelain right under the first layer of moss and grass. But the physical aspect did not bring the volunteers down.

[It] has been really interesting. I like this kind of being outdoors all day and doing something smart. It suits me well. It is physically

¹ 170811_0034.

² For example Sunderland&al. 2012, 1058.

³ Banks&al. 2017, 4.

⁴ 170811_0033.

rough crouching like that for a person this size, but then when you find the proper position you can be in, then it is easier.¹

On Arnstein's lower rungs of tokenism, there is placation which the professionals are guilty of. This rung in practice was giving the participants imaginary power, being aware that only the power-holder knows this promise of power to be empty. For example out there in the field if a participant notices a place and considers it valuable for digging, there are not many reasons to not dig there even though the expert would quickly realise there is nothing valuable there to be dug out.

Though for an outsider or even for the participant it is very hard to differentiate this from actually considering the note of the participant to be very valuable and acting accordingly as a group. I would not consider this as bad behaviour from the researchers' part because in the moment it was sometimes better to chase a gust of wind than having nothing meaningful to do.²

Even though the experience was not about what was found, everyone had their favourites and it was always an exciting event when something was found. In 2016 a lot more objects were found from the ground than in 2017, but it did not make a difference for the atmosphere. One of the volunteers said that a medicine box she found had a bit different shape than what others had found and that made it special and interesting for her.³

The findings raised questions of the past lives lived in the area. Good example of this is the pondering of one of the volunteers:

Well, for example the distinction where has the brass housed and ordinary soldiers and then... like... prisoners and what they have been eating and the utility articles I am interested in and especially when they have made structures on living trees I have been amazed about that many times and wondered what there has been. And well, it tells about the people the artefacts and yesterday I was pondering hard that from the other hole was found pieces of mirror

¹ 160804_0011.

² Arnstein 1969, 220.

³ 160805_0014.

and jewelry and erm, marker heads, that who has used them and then I started to think that it is possible about the brass so have they brought women here and that kind of things I was wondering so what kind of human fates have been.¹

Community participation is a site-specification activity. There are no defined rules for community based participation because the activities are always determined by the circumstances.² This is why there cannot be universal rules and methods of participation but more guidelines of what is good and what is bad participation. #InariDigs shows that participation in heritage activities are pleasant for the volunteers when there is a personal or special meaning in the activity.

The special meaning was either the activity itself or imagining the past. It was entertaining for many to imagine what kind of building or structure had been in the spot before it was burned. Especially from the 2016 excavation most finds were either burnt, broken or both. At the hospital site one of the volunteer thought it could have been as follows:

[--] but if you think that here has been a two meters high building and in it shelves every 40 centimetres, in it five shelves meticulously side by side and every meter can hold 10 bedpans and 50 bedpans here easily. And then everything explodes.³

Many volunteers raised concern on what should be done to the excavation finds that are not brought back with the researchers. Having insiders, or in this case someone who has either knowledge about the local area and culture, or for example the medical knowledge one of the participants brought to the excavation at the hospital site, participating is a great advantage for the research. Insiders can bring a considerable amount of expertise to the field and a viewpoint that only someone with knowledge that is not readily available for

¹ 170811_0034.

² Tosun 1999, 123.

³ 160804_0011.

outsiders could have.¹ One volunteer was concerned if it was at all right be excavating the site.

And of course everything that is found is interesting. But the local villagers haven't been here checking what is here, it is a sign that if this is right or wrong. But I am here myself too.²

Others raised their concerns as well. For some it felt like meddling with things that was not ours to meddle and especially leaving the porcelain, glass and rusty cans in the ground was troublesome. Some were worried about the nature walkers and dog walkers that might wander in the area. In 2016 there were hundreds of tin cans and other sharp material excavated from the ground and because it was impossible to take every can and bottle with us when we left, they were buried on the ground. It was important to put them back in the same place where it was found for future generations to find again. But this definitely was not to everyone's liking.

To me it is a good sign when the volunteers and the professionals did not agree. The disagreement moves the project from Arnstein's nonparticipation to at least the ladders of tokenism. The members of the staff are not the ultimate power and should be questioned in their decisions. In Elo's hybrid way of working, this is a sign of the excavations not being only authoritarian as the authority was questioned and in many ways during the excavation also shared.³

We visited the last years site [--] and I still can't comprehend completely that the glass is put back in the soil. And it is put not even in the spot it was found. That it's just dumped there. It is contradictory. [--] And there was clearly, of course, someone nosy rummaging, at least the warehouse [--] there had been done new excavations.⁴

Having this kind of environment gives an equal opportunity to voice concerns on an arena the volunteers would not usually or easily have access. Participants

¹ Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

² 160803_0005.

³ Arnstein 1969, 216 and Elo 2005, 12-13.

⁴ 170808_0027.

are experts of their own life experience and the professionals can provide information required to make rational judgments.¹

Most of the volunteers who joined us again in 2017 had an opinion about the burying finds back in the soil. Especially after we visited the old site again and saw what it looked like a year after the excavation.

[Last year's] site made me think that it is rubbish and it should have been cleaned already earlier. Of course it is important that there is a professional estimating what the meaning and value of the rubbish is, but after that I would be happy to see it put away and done something, the northern nature, it gets clean so slowly and decomposes and renews [--].²

Collaboration requires more than a sympathetic appreciation to different ways of thinking.³ Even though the change does not happen immediately, voicing the different opinions helps the researchers to acknowledge the dichotomies.

[This] has not widely [changed] impression. But this could give more information.⁴

This is how one of the volunteers described her impression on Second World War and how the dig had affected her. She says that she had been interested in the subject beforehand and the archaeological work might broaden the impressions especially if the whole area or site was dug. After talking about the link between feelings towards the Germans today and the history we know about the WWII events, she comments on overall knowledge about people, countries, regions and history.

[--] kind of consciousness of course effects. But there is no such condition where the baseline is that you don't know anything. It is

¹ Burgess&al. 1998, 1446-1447.

² 170809_0028.

³ For example Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

⁴ 160805_0014.

impossible to choose. But it doesn't effect on attitudes or how you treat better or worse or anything.¹

Another volunteer at the same spot then commented that nothing he learns about the history could ever change how he considers the Germans he knows or will know. We then talk about different kinds of experiments done in social psychology for example Stanford prison experiment and The Third Wave experiment.

You can run into things like that in society and work communities and everywhere all the time. And I think for that reason, the original question that does it affect the attitude towards a group of people, you have to be aware of these different kinds of phenomena. Even if you think you live this small life here and work, you should be aware of all kinds of things that goes on in the world.²

For her learning about history and its events, teaches understanding and how the world and its people work. For another volunteer participating in the excavation altered her perception of the area.

On the whole we have been shaken by how widely the war related material is spread here. Inari was a completely different kind of place for us before.³

The changed feeling did not occur only on Inari's behalf but expanded to cover the whole Lapland area. Even though the excavation itself might not have taught anything new to the volunteers, the theme and working around it made people ponder about it more and from different perspectives. And not just the war times, but the role and status of the local indigenous people, history and pre-history, nature, local inhabitants intake on the material and many more topics.

Lapland's dark heritage creates new public narrative. This conflict the new information creates with the accepted heritage discourse is a chance for

¹ 160805_0014.

² 160805_0014.

³ 160803_0005.

learning and changing. This can create new alignments and productive interventions in the public sphere, a difference.¹

4.4. Kankiniemi

One site in Inari stood out and generated distinct meaning for the volunteers and the team members, the POW camp of Kankiniemi. Kankiniemi is also a good example of collaboration, community heritage and how pooling different kind of people together can result in both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Kankiniemi changed perceptions and resulted in change at the site.

Two of the volunteers talked about the perceptions changed because of one particularly exceptional excursion they did together.

It changes the perception to this as a whole, that you see things maybe differently. Not necessarily negative, but different. It was that Kankiniemi... We visited the prison camp Kankiniemi in the evening, and it increased a certain level of respect towards the past. It doesn't show as pure and beautiful the nature, what it has been. So it is good to bring it up, even though it feels wild.²

Kankiniemi's prisoner of war camp became an important place for the volunteers, the researchers and the locals.

During the excavation of 2016 we revisited Kankiniemi site, and the volunteers were encouraged to visit it as well. Kankiniemi used to be a prison camp for Soviet soldiers and is one of the sites the project has been considering for excavation. What is remarkable about Kankiniemi is that because of its currently remote location, the site still has plenty of visible structures. This includes collapsed buildings, iron wire, fences, nails and other material. Outside of the camp area there is another building still standing, but it is considered by the archaeologists to be a lodge for local Sami hunters and herders.

In 2016 the volunteers and Seitsonen were having a conversation about Kankiniemi and how did it feel like to visit the place. "Go there if you want to feel

¹ Macdonald 2008, 94.

² 160803_0005.

uncomfortable”¹, stated one of the volunteers. After this, the excavation leader told the volunteers that he had done some walkover surveys and a test excavation at Kankiniemi and he had a frightening encounter there. He explains how he was alone at the site in a hole when suddenly he felt like he was not alone anymore. He looked around to see if there was anyone else at the site with him and looking up from the hole, he saw a reindeer a meter and a half away. At the end of this story everyone around laughs relieved as if they assumed it to be something worse. Seitsonen laughingly declares that they both, him and the reindeer, were as frightened in the situation.²

After this few of the volunteers starts to tell the story of how they visited Kankiniemi too and that they were looking at the pictures they took on their visit afterwards. Apparently some of the pictures looked odd to them and one of the volunteers revealed that she had deleted one of the pictures. Many pictures they had taken at Kankiniemi had strange stripes in them, but one in particular was so spooky³ that she deleted it. ”It clearly showed a man’s face.”⁴ The project members then had a conversation how down casted they are that the picture was deleted, but the volunteer defended her decision by stating that ”I had to, I just had to. You know, I got such an awful feeling from it. But I do have other pictures.”⁵, she ended with a tone of reconciliation. She promised the pictures to the project members and they described where the spookiest picture was taken. They also depicted the reason behind considering this one picture to be the spookiest. The volunteers and the project members then started to consider if it was possible to restore the deleted picture from a memory stick.

The next day the same volunteers visited Kankiniemi again. One of them described the visit a lot better in daylight and she was able to concentrate on the surroundings better this time. She could tell where the borders of the prison camp were and she took pictures of the poles inside the camp area. She said this visit had calmed her a bit after the visit done in the dark. In the dark she had

¹ ”Jos haluat epämiellyttävän olon, ni mee sinne.” 160803_0008.

² 160803_0008.

³ This was the literal word used within a Finnish conversation. 160803_0008.

⁴ ”Ihan selkeesti miehen kasvot.” 160803_0008.

⁵ ”Mun oli pakko. Mun oli pakko, tieks tuli niin, niin hirveen fiilis siitä. Mut mullon, mullon muitakin.” 160803_0008.

felt skittish and in the daylight she was more sedate to make something out of the surroundings.¹



5 Kankiniemi POW camp. (image by author, posted in Facebook)

These few volunteers considered the visit to Kankiniemi so haunting and disturbing that they felt the need to somehow soothe it.

[--] and really terrifies the fates of people. And then erm, when we visited Kankiniemi, there was especially gloomy feeling. And then, in the end it led to asking an orthodox priest there to bless and we had that memorial service there. [--] I contacted the priest. And then I like asked that I am not crazy but have you ever done this, have you ever blessed soil, there is this one place that feels awfully sad, distressing, and it was not just me and many others told me about it.²

The next September an event was held at the former prison camp where an Orthodox priest blessed the site and with the help of the participants, a memorial cross was erected there. Because the place had had Soviet prisoners and there are two graves with Orthodox markings at Kankiniemi, the priest was asked from the Lapland's Orthodox congregation. The local priest of Skolt Sámi,

¹ 160804_0011.

² 170811_0034.

father Rauno Pietarinen, held the memorial service and around 20 people attended the service including volunteers and project members that participated in the ceremony.¹ In 2017 the volunteer who contacted the priest described the situation after the memorial service this way:

And now there is a lot better feeling somehow, at least for me.²

Kankiniemi works as an example of ladders that work. First the climb is started from the bottom by these volunteers receiving information about Lapland's dark heritage and interesting sites on the map. They then visit the place on their own and have a meaningful experience. They discuss about this experience with professionals and the idea that something should be done is formed in partnership. Then the volunteers contact authorities to organise an event that would make them and hopefully others feel better. The event takes place and the volunteers feel that they have positively made a change.

Relationship between the professional and the laymen that started as a top-down relationship resulted in something concrete organised from bottom-up perspective.³ Kankiniemi also combines the four categories of hybrid grip.⁴ Kankiniemi is no longer "forgotten in the wilderness"⁵ but remembered because of spontaneous participation.⁶

Koskinen-Koivisto describes the experiences of the Norvajärvi cemetery visitors having sensual and spiritual dimensions.⁷ This theme repeated in #InariDigs as the whole experiences from closing the door at your home to returning back after a week full of pondering dark heritage issues and the faiths of soldiers, prisoners and labourers. In addition of looking at things "with new eyes"⁸, the journey through time and space was seen almost spiritual.

¹ Banks&al. 2017 and Kaleva 27.9.2016: Inarin Kankiniemen sodanaikaiselle vankileirille pystytetään muistoristi.

² 170811_0034.

³ Arnstein 1969.

⁴ Elo 2005, 12-13.

⁵ As Seitsonen and Herva describes Peltojoki. Peltojoki was the site where Lapland's Dark Heritage started. See for example Seitsonen&Herva 2011.

⁶ Tosun 1999, 115.

⁷ Koskinen-Koivisto 2016, 25.

⁸ For example 170811_0033.

The motivations and reasons to participate in especially dark heritage related activities is a way of honour the past.

[The excavation] brings up things that we would not already know. And at the same time we respect the people who have lost their lives here. So [I am here] a bit for them too.¹

Getting people – different kinds of people – to participate, engaged and overall involved in heritage activities and research benefits everyone. As Beck and Maida points out this does not mean that the researcher is working for the people they study, but with them. Being able to use the wisdom and expertise of others, especially outside our own bubble enriches most of the things we as people do. And it makes it easier for the work to continue after the academic has stepped away from the field as case Kankiniemi proves.²

4.5. Not just for the volunteers

In 2016 the project had planned several activities for both the volunteers, the locals and tourists visiting Inari. In 2017 the excursions were mainly for the volunteers, but many locals and passing tourists visited the sites both years. The project leader Vesa-Pekka Herva and the excavation leader Oula Seitsonen, started and finished both #InariDig's by explaining first what the project is about and then last introducing the findings. These events were open to all public.

In 2016 over thirty people were attracted by the excavation and its complementary activities. This could be considered a relatively high number because there are only approximately 500 residents.³ #InariDig included introduction to the excavation week by Herva and Seitsonen. Later in the week Banks and Moshenska presented their projects in Siida's auditorium. Visitors could attend a guided tour at the dig site or the tour given by Lehtola. Especially Lehtola's tour was popular.

¹ 170811_0034.

² Beck&Maida 2013, 13.

³ Banks&al. 2017, 6.



6 Matti Lehtola's guided tour through Inari. (image by author, posted in Facebook)

The whole week different representatives of the press visited the site, but the event directed to press did not attract but few people. The media interest was considered a good thing by the project and the volunteers but the interviews and cameras were also a distraction. Next year the press was welcomed to the site the same way as previous year, but they were reminded to ask permission to film and distract the volunteers.¹

#InariDig2 did not include as much activities for others than the volunteers. The site was open for everyone that were curious and one person visited the site multiple days in a row. He then led us to an old airport near Kaamanen that was filled with broken porcelain pieces and a swastika carved in a tree. Apparently this man initially assumed we were going to start excavating at the airport and he was concern about permits to dig on private land. He was relieved when he realised we were only going there to look and survey the site. This made one of the volunteers consider if it would be beneficial for the project to have a pamphlet or some kind of calling card to hand out to people. She reasoned that this would also help in receiving more information from the locals when the contact information would be available easily.²

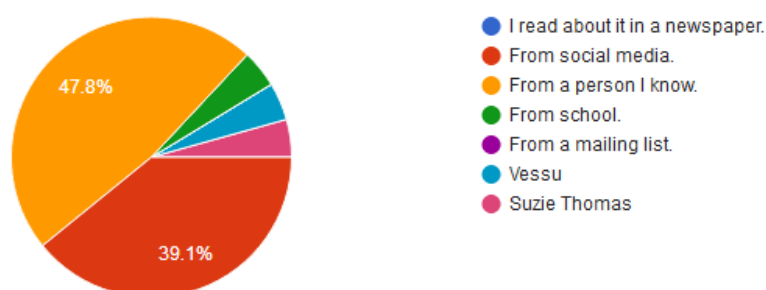
¹ 170808_0027.

² 170816_0037.

We did a survey after the first dig in 2016. The feedback includes twenty-three individual responses.¹ Twelve of them identified themselves as male and eleven identified as female. The biggest respondent groups were born between the 1960's and the 1980's with one respondent born in the 1940's and one in the 1990's. Almost 30% were from Helsinki and the rest of the respondent were half from other places of Finland and half from other parts of the world. Almost half of the respondents had heard about the project from a person they knew and around 39% knew the project from social media.

Where did you hear about the project or the excavation from?

23 responses



⁷ A survey question about where did the respondent hear about the excavation. (image from GoogleForms)

Most of the volunteers had found out about the excavations online even though the excavations were also promoted in magazines. They mentioned our blog and Siida museums website, Facebook or finding these outlets from Google.² In 2016 one of the visitors and in 2017 the volunteers also mentioned getting an email from the team members which makes email one of the useful outlets used in the web.³

There were various reasons why people were interested in the project or interested to participate. Archaeology was mentioned several times and there were few mentions of war and the WWII. Many found it plainly "interesting". Few

¹ There was also one blank answer sheet that I decided not to count as a response.

² For example 160803_0005.

³ 160802_0003 and for example 170811_0034 or 170809_0028.

told us that a person they knew was a volunteer at the dig which made them interested in the project. One responded that participating is part of her "learning process". Eighteen gave a response to this question which was the highest number of responses in an open question.

Out of the twenty-three, eighteen followed the project online, three participated in the digging, and two attended an event on the excavation period. Six of these were on a walk or a tour and two attended a lecture. Eleven said they had been on an excavation before, four had donated money for a cause related to cultural heritage, six had done some kind of volunteer work, and three had something to do with archaeology by profession, education or hobby. One had given a tip about a possible cultural heritage site and one never had participated in any cultural heritage project or similar before.

The dig got both the volunteers and locals to participate, and even some people passing through. It also gave the expert role to the local historian, Matti Lehtola. One of the events in the first dig was a meander with Lehtola around the town. The walk was scheduled to last for an hour and a half, but Lehtola was so eager to talk about all the things he considered meaningful to the topic that the walk lasted for three hours. This event was the most popular of them all. It would suggest that there is room and an interest for this kind of heritage work.

Even though the number of people attending the evening lectures and the guided tours around the dig sites were not huge, they gave the sense of effectiveness. Inari is the biggest municipality in Finland with an area of 17 000 km², but there lives less than 7000 inhabitants.¹ This means that every local who attends any kind of event has made an effort and should be considered to have some kind of impact from the information received. First rungs of the ladders have been climbed.²

One of the volunteer commented on the surplus activities like this:

Yeah, then when you're here, it was really wonderful to get to go to the prison camp with you yesterday and then the lectures on Wednesday

¹ Inari municipality's website.

² Arnstein 1969.

were really good and it would've been nice if it had been from all of you that do archaeological research, everyone your own, that one could've listened. Like, who has the energy to come listen to PowerPoints, but I would've gladly sat through them.¹

One of the interviewees told us that their interest in war history especially in Lapland's context brought them to the site.²

The volunteers gave feedback to the project in their interviews. They hoped the project would get additional funding to do more, they wished there would be lectures or other activities even in the winter and they hoped that the locals would benefit from the work of the project. They also wanted to know more about the Sami people and their role in the war. Over-all they hoped to learn more even after the excavation. They wanted to know more about history and the people who lived during the era of German presence.

¹ 160805_0016.

² 160803_0010.

5. Online engagement

5.1. Social media in numbers

In this chapter I introduce few examples of engagement in social media. It is impossible to cover everything, but with these examples I try to generate a concordant perspective into different aspects of using social media in heritage work. LDH has three purely social media accounts (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram) and two other social networking sites (the blog and YouTube account).

Social media distributes the most current information to the public and details about the progress of the project to the stakeholders. As Burgess, Harrison and Filius points out, if information is presented in attractive and accessible ways, it is effective. Attractiveness and accessibility assists in ensuring that the public can understand both rights and responsibilities. Communicating correct way creates conscious citizens.¹

The project's Facebook page has almost 600 likes and a little over 600 followers.² The difference between following and liking a page in Facebook is the profiling of affiliation. All likes are shown in one's profile and some might not want to affiliate to certain pages, but they still want to receive news and see the posts. Average reach of a photo in LDH's Facebook page is around 400 and on links it is little less than that. Reach does not yet indicate engagement and according to Facebook's statistics the engagement on posts are from around twenty to seventy on average. Engagement includes clicks on links and reactions and comments on the posts.

The project's Instagram account @dig_inari has around 180 followers and the account follows over 400 accounts. So far the project has made over hundred posts which collected on average from 10 to 30 likes. The most likes got a group photo of the volunteers and researchers of the dig of 2016 with 43 likes so far.³ Other top pictures are one of Seitsonen giving a presentation and on of

¹ Burgess&al. 1998, 1446.

² Statistic from April 2018.

³ Instagram: *A group photo from the last day of excavation.*

him after his thesis defence both with 36 likes.¹ The fourth most liked post was a picture of “unexpected finds” displaying more modern items such as a plastic ketchup bottle.²

In twitter the project has produced so far almost 1655 tweets and almost 500 likes. The followers of the project’s account and accounts that @DarkLapland follows is almost the same numbering in over 900. The project has shared almost 400 pictures and most of them are from the field. According to Twitters own analytic system, the account peaks on “Twitter Impressions” on the fieldwork periods. For example in August 2017 there are 46k impressions, but in April 2018 only 4,757. The difference may be due to content, but most likely because in April 2018 there are seven tweets and in August 2017 there were 107 tweets.

In July 2016 the account attracted 17 new followers, but the next month the amount of new followers was 42. In September the number dropped to 25. The fieldwork periods are clearly highlighted in the activity on both the account’s and the followers’ part. In the months that were “slower” people seemed to be most interested in new publications. This suggests the importance of Twitter in academic and work life. But this can suggestion can be questioned due to the fact that one of the most popular tweets of @DarkLapland is a bottle of vodka.³

The same vodka bottle was presented in Instagram as well, but did not receive the same enthusiasm. The picture of said vodka bottle gained 16 likes.⁴ The followers in Instagram might be looking for more “homely” posts, pictures about everyday activities and people. The followers of the Twitter account might be looking for to be surprised and sensationalised content. This would require a deeper analysis, but based on these two different pictures and titles of the same thing, something can be concluded from the different engagement they have generated.

¹ Instagram: *More public talks today* and Instagram: *Seitsonen holding a hard copy of his doctoral dissertation*.

² Instagram: *Some of today's findings were not quite what we expected*.

³ In 2017 an unopened bottle was found at the dig site with some liquid still inside. Twitter: *What a find! vodka bottle with vodka*.

⁴ Instagram: *One of the finds today*.

In Lapland's Dark Heritage -project the positions of expert and informants have become furthermore blurred. This was emphasized on Pia Purra's article at the University of Helsinki's web page. She had been with us at the site in 2017 and noted that the students gave the professors orders and that "the academic hierarchies have crumbled".¹ This, I think, should reflect on social media as well. To my experience the audiences engage better with personal communicating. And it means the project successfully achieved one of the "better rungs" on Arnstein's ladder. This destruction of hierarchies could indicate level of placation where the "elite" (the professionals in the field) holds majority of the power but others (volunteers, visitors and in this case the students) have some degree of influence on the matters.²

The blog of the project has generated so far only four comments. The latest comment is from January 2017 from a person interested in the upcoming public excavation.³ Two of the comments are made by project members and two by the readers of the blog. In the blog there are seven pages and in total ninety published posts. According to Google Analytics there had been over 27,000 pageviews in the end of April 2018. The average time on the page is around a minute and a half. The most pageviews was in August 2016, which is not surprising because the first public excavation was held then and all activity spiked. In that month there were 2,104 views and in 2017 in August the views were 1,609.

LDH published five videos about the excavation. One video was made by me and only visible in Facebook. In the video I walk around the excavation site in 2016 describing what it is like and what we have found.⁴ The project's YouTube channel Dark Heritage has 11 subscribers. The video with the most views is an assemblage of the first excavation week.⁵ The video mostly portrays the

¹ University of Helsinki: *Students and researchers learn from each other at an archaeological dig.*

² Arnstein 1969, 220-222.

³ Blog of Lapland's Dark Heritage: *Project members.*

⁴ Facebook: Video from #InariDig. The other project members calls this video "The InariDig project" because of its similarity to the movie "Blair Witch Project". I was asked to publish this video on YouTube together with the others, but unfortunately I was not able to get the format right. The video was recorded vertically with a smart phone and trying to edit the format, the sound track was out of sync with the video track.

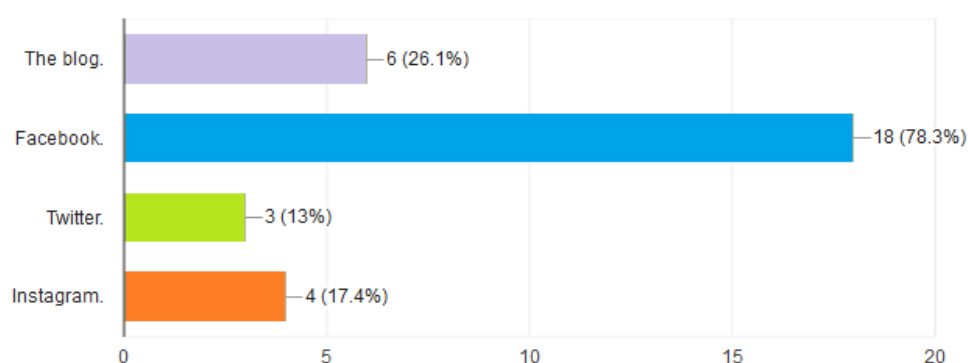
⁵ YouTube: *#InariDig -week.*

researchers and the volunteers in rain gear and mosquito nets digging in the forest. The video has three likes and one comment. The video has had 274 views, but the similar video from 2017 reached only 123 views.¹ All in all, the YouTube -videos accumulated 1 to 4 likes which might seem little but considering the content is made by an academic project, any like on a video is a “job well done”.

After the first excavation the volunteers voiced their desire to keep in touch in social media and we formed a private group in Facebook for the volunteers and the academics. The first idea of the group was to post pictures and advertise events close to the theme and overall reminiscing. The group has been for the volunteers could keep in touch with each other and the research team, and share interesting events or studies. Everyone who had an account joined the group and there was talk about those volunteers who did not have an account to be able to join the group by other means. Unfortunately this never happened, but a few of the volunteers from the second dig joined Facebook mainly to like the project’s page and join our group. The group got quieter after a while, but no one has left the group and the volunteers from #InariDig who did not participate in #InariDig2 accepted the new members to the group.

If you were following us online, what was your favourite outlet? Or easiest to follow?

23 responses



8 A survey question about the favourite outlet. (image from GoogleForms)

¹ YouTube: *Lapland's Dark Heritage presents: #InariDig2 2017.*

One of the questions in the survey was related to only social media. We asked what outlet did the respondent follow or found the easiest to follow. The clear winner was Facebook with 18 acknowledgements, followed by the blog with 6 responses. This could be concluded as successfully reaching the followers on the blog, but not from for example Twitter. All these numbers indicate that the followers are engaged, but not participants. Or to use the social media vocabulary: the project's social networking sites are followed by lurkers.¹

5.2. Hashtags and other obstacles

#InariDig is the official hashtag used in the project. It was used in Instagram and Twitter mainly because of the open excavation's social media campaign. The tag stuck with the project members and articles and presentations have been named after it. Here I explain why the hashtag became such an important part of the whole project.

Hashtags are used in social media to make it easier to locate similar topics or individual posts. Marking a word with a hashtag makes the word tagged and active. This means you or any other user can click the active tag and it links you to all other posts tagged with the same hashtag. The tag has to be correctly letter to letter to find similar topics. For example, many couples getting married give themselves a hashtag that makes it easier for their guests to find other posts about the wedding and for the couple to gather pictures of the wedding in the same place. Usually hashtags are related to the topic, for example the imaginary couple could use hashtag #JohnAndJane2017. Reaching wide audience is a combination of having a good follower base and using suitable hashtags. Hashtags helps people who are not yet following the profile to find it and possibly stay and follow it.²

Before the first open excavation the project's team members had a meeting where we decided of the hashtag. We had talked about both #InariDig and #DigInari, but decided on #DigInari. This tag would have had multiple meanings as the word "dig" can be used as the verb for excavating soil or as slang to

¹ A lurker is a social media user that does not actively engage with posts. For example they do not post their own user-made content, but they do still use social media to read posts made by others regularly. For example Nonnecke&Preece 2000, 74 or Ridings&al. 2006, 329.

² Tsur&Rapport 2012, 643-644.

indicate fondness of a certain thing. That way we would have declared with this hashtag that we are both excavating in Inari but anyone using the tag would also like Inari. It would have also been parallel with the Instagram's account name.¹

Unfortunately nobody wrote this down and there was a misunderstanding what the hashtag was supposed to be. The first post made to social media including a hashtag was with #InariDig and there was no point on changing it after that. In our blog we had already announced our official hashtag to be #DigInari, but after the mishap it was wise to quickly change the blog post to tell our audience about two possible hashtags. A little later the first hashtag was completely forgotten and #InariDig remained.

Using it as a name for an article or a single topic has been proven to be almost iconic for the project. Having a short name for the excavations made it easy to promote it and having the hashtag in front gave it a nice flavour. Little things such as a hashtag can be very important when trying to get people engaged in a serious matter. Another things to consider is timing when to post and how similar posts different outlets has. The best time to post varies between the different outlets, but generally the peak hours are when people are on their way to work or leaving work.² This is very hard to define when the social media is targeted for international audience.

The project has had some feedback for using the term “dark” in the name. For example one Facebook user following our page found it so filled with controversial perception that the project should consider changing it. It was explained to this user that the term is not political and it derives from the theoretical background of dark tourism.

The term 'Laplands Dark Heritage' propagates the idea that Finland did something wrong. Consider changing it. Finland needed to defend itself. It linked up with the only country in the world willing to help them. Sensible.³

¹ 160729_0001.

² Coschedule's blog: *Best Times to post on Social Media*.

³ Facebook: Front page of Lapland's Dark Heritage.

For me this misunderstanding is also a part of a case of “lost in translation”. I do not know which name was first, the Finnish or the English one, but the term is easier to understand in Finnish. In Finnish the project is called Lapin Synkkä Kulttuuriperintö and it does not only add the word *cultural* before *heritage*, but it also changes the nuances on the word “dark”. The English word *dark* is ambiguous, but the Finnish version even more so as the word can be translated into over 30 different words in English.¹

If a day is *murky* in Finnish, something bad has happened or there is no sun to be seen. If a forest is *gloomy*, it is filled with shadows and maybe even magical creatures. A *dark* forest is a place where only the ones who seek adventure goes. If one has a *grim* look on their face, they are thinking of sad or grey thoughts. If one has a *sorrowful* past, something bad has happened but it does not make the person bad. If someone is *sombre* minded, it means the person is melancholic or has a tendency to be pessimistic.

The most pageviews the blog got in December 2017. There were four posts published that month which means the blog was quite active. The posts included plenty of pictures and shared few YouTube videos. The post “Continuation to the Rosita Serrano recording story” reached over 500 followers on Facebook, and 715 pageviews in total. This suggests that most of the pageviews comes from followers in Facebook clicking the post links.

It is easy to see why the post about the broken record pieces was popular. The post unravels a mystery of a piece of an object that was excavated during #InariDig2. A fragment of a broken record had a master number still visible in it and by that number the researchers were able to track down the correct recording. Seitsonen reached out to a public German Facebook group that is concentrated on long-play recordings and quickly was advised on the correct content of the record. Seitsonen then wrote the blog post and added YouTube clips of the recording which made it possible for the readers to hear what was

¹ For example *sombre*, *murky*, *bleak*, *gloomy*, *dark(ness)*, *grim*, *tragic*, *sad*, *melancholic*, *distressing*, *sorrowful*, *cheerless*, *pessimistic*, *macabre*, *something has a shadowy overcast*, *downbeat*, *comfortless*, *heartbroken*, etc.

listened in Hyljelahti at some point during the WWII. The post also addressed the value of crowdsourcing and sharing information collaboratively.

5.3. Can you “like” a swastika?

In community archaeology there is a question of how to shift people from being audiences to being participants.¹ The same problem occurs in social media. It is difficult to nudge audiences from the lurking stage of engagement into participating in the conversations and sharing their own view. Another question is how to present dark and controversial themes in such a public outlets as social media is.



⁹Swastika carved on a tree. (image by author, posted in Facebook)

For example our announcement of the registration for volunteering for the dig had less engagements than our latest article. This might have something to do with that the announcement was covered in other media, and the article has a curse word in the title². There is a fine line between distasteful and being eccentric enough to draw attention. There are also rules in the academy world and in different social media platforms that limits the ways of being too sensational. One good example is uploading a picture of a swastika in social media. Usually swastikas are not allowed because they are generally considered to be hate speech or otherwise offending. Knowing this I made a conscious decision to post a picture of a swastika.³

¹ Banks&al. 2017, 6.

² “Where the F... is Vuotso”.

³ The Guardian: *Facebook clarifies policy on nudity, hate speech and other community standards.*

While we might not have to compete with everything out there in social media, there is a certain kind of competition going on. But instead of competing with other heritage, history, institutions such as archives and museums, I believe the social media engagement we all do works for the benefit for all mentioned. As Lotina and Lepik points out the challenge is to engage users in a communicative way, to market, to entertain, to educate and to bring up socially significant issues. I doubt it is a difficulty to any cultural heritage based social media site to educate or to bring up socially significant issues. The problems are in marketing and making the substance entertaining.¹

In October 2017 Twitter implemented "more aggressive rules" to their policies. This was because they had the need to show how serious they are about hate and abuse, and to give them a better chance to intervene in what they consider sensitive media. Updating their policies makes it easier for them to enforce them. These new policies means that the swastika I posted in Facebook could be flagged as sensitive and as so violate the rules of Twitter. Even with context, a picture itself can be offensive.² Why the post stayed unflagged is likely to be because the swastika was carved on a tree trunk and thus not recognised by automatic screening. Apparently the people engaged with this picture did not find it offensive and recognised the context.

Luckily the swastika did not get flagged and is probably only meaningful for those who participated in the 2017 dig. The swastika was an interesting find because it was so precisely carved, it looks almost machine-made.

Unfortunately it did not spike interest in the project's Facebook followers and it only generated two likes. Both likes came from people who had seen the actual tree the mark was carved in.³ Another picture where one of the archaeologists was measuring the swastika reached 966 Facebook users and received three likes. Of which one liker was not in the field with us. This example emphasises the importance of context in online world as much as it is important in the offline world.

¹ Lotina&Lepik 2015, 127.

² Techcrunch: *Twitter is done with hate symbols and violent groups.*

³ Facebook: Swastika carved in the tree.

For comparison, a later post after the swastika picture was a group picture of the researchers when the excavation had already ended. This picture generated 17 likes.¹ One thing hampering the results of Facebook engagement is that one of the researcher is an avid liker. This is both a positive and a negative thing for the project and my research. It is good in the sense that it gives more visibility for the posts. Every post someone likes is shown more for their friends and it elevates the overall visibility of the post.² The negative aspect is that it is hard to set down the real quantity of the engaged social media users.

The post in Facebook that engaged most people was a picture of a 1960's vehicle scrabbled and slightly sunken to the ground. The visible parts of the vehicle has a resemblance to a popular culture character from Star Wars and the text read "Join the dark heritage side".³ It reached over 6,250 people, or putting it in Facebook's terms: 6.2k. Most of the posts reaching over 1k views had something personal in them. For example one of the final pictures of the dig in 2017 was a picture of the researchers at a peak of a nature trail and it reached 1.2k social media users.⁴ Another good example of a post that worked well is from August 2016 where the audience was asked to guess why one of the objects found from the dig site would be pre-war.⁵

The aforementioned car wreck was portrayed in one of the news media articles. One of the volunteer told that he had read the comment section and said he had found one particular comment amusing:

There are funny comments too, for example the wreck of a car evokes lot of feelings. Someone was cussing that he learned how to drive a truck in East Germany with a shitty piece like that.⁶

At the end of the first excavation we gathered around the parking lot to discuss how the week had went. The conversation touched the social media and the great media interest the excavation had generated. The project leader raised

¹ Facebook: Researchers after #InariDig2.

² For example Heiss&al. 2018 or Time.com: *8 Ways to Get Your Post Seen More on Facebook*.

³ Facebook: A little fieldwork humour.

⁴ Facebook: The Kuukkeli trail.

⁵ Facebook: Piece of a porcelain plate.

⁶ 160805_0016

his concerns on what kind of comments the news in online media had accumulated. He said that there is no need to hide the topic, but on the other hand there is no need to generate wrong kind of interest. With wrong kind of interest he refers to people who are more than enthusiast in Nazi thematic.¹

Using social media to engage people is not just a passing trend. It is a viable tool and it has potential to get people to participate in the conversation or even the action of working with heritage. As Lotina and Lepik and many others points out, most users in social media do not participate. But even without getting people to participate an institution or a project can form a relationship with the audiences. Social media helps to reduce distance between the communicators and receivers, but the communication also demands trust.²

5.4. Thank you for the Nazi stuff

Social media grants a more active role to people which can then lead to shared heritage.³ An online survey is a questionnaire published online that has a self-completion nature.⁴ The fourth step in Arnstein's ladder is consultation which includes the surveys that were conducted. The surveys leaves the research team unable to answer to the respondents except later in the academic articles and publications, and thus leaves only little room for the participants to be anything more than "statistical abstractions".⁵

The project team wanted to know if people enjoyed the experience no matter were they at the site or following us online. 30% responded "Sure.", 52% said it was "Great!" and almost 18% thought "It was magical!". The other options would have been "Meh.", "Not my cup of tea." and "Hated every second of it!", but none chose those options. Of course we were glad to have such a good review.

¹ 160805_0016.

² Lotina&Lepik 2015, 124.

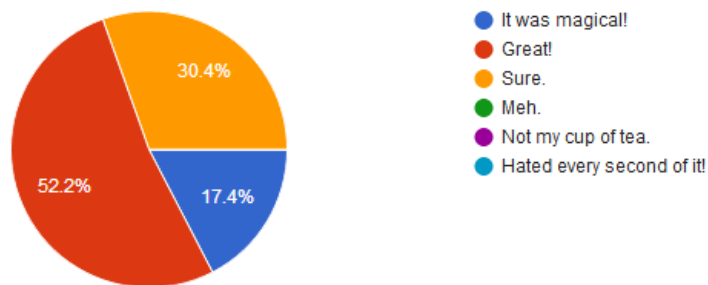
³ Ciolfi 2012, 70.

⁴ Poynter 2010, 35.

⁵ Arnstein 1969, 219.

Did you enjoy the excavation (by being there or following it online)?

23 responses



10 Survey question about enjoyment. (image from GoogleForms)

We asked for honest feedback about what could have been done differently. The question received ten responses of which one stated that nothing could have been done better. Few of the respondents were requesting for more information about the background and the pictures. One suggested that we could have interviewed the people at the site and post videos online. One reminded us to use more of the native language for example on the questionnaire and one was bummed about not being able to participate in the digging himself.

The most memorable thing for many was the artefacts and the pictures posted online. Two found the human stories to be the most memorable thing, for example the frostbite creams. Two people mentioned for example Kankiniemi and Solojärvi that we visited outside the excavation program in 2016. And of course one mentioned "the Nazi stuff".

The team curious to know if the work done made anyone learn anything new. Interpreting from the responses, the things the excavation and the social media surrounding it taught people many new things. They learned about the site, archaeology, the historical background and the wartime and especially in Lapland. One respondent felt compelled to learn more and started to study the subject on his leisure time. Like the *Wir waren Freunde* -exhibition, the project's

heritage work also taught someone that the Germans in Lapland were not only soldiers or Nazis, but people.

All of the respondents wished to participate in something similar in the future and they all found the project's work important. The last question was open and respondents used this space to send their greetings to the project team. Many of them wished for more: more pictures, longer excavation, more volunteers at the dig, and more in-depth level of research if possible. Few people gave advice on who to contact or what could be done next and one archaeologist asked to join the project. Many of the responses included the words "thank you".



11 A screencap of a YouTube -video. (video by Perttola, image posted in Instagram)

6. Conclusion

Both the volunteers and the researchers were happy of the collaborative way of working and they enjoyed the time spent together. Participating was experienced in different ways, but there were many similarities. Volunteers at the site sought participation for different reasons such as being part of a group, learning more and doing something contrasting their everyday life. Both the volunteers and the visitors found a connection between nature today and the German presence during the WWII and they compared the conditions with these contrasting times in Lapland. For some, participating on a public excavation on the other side of the country was a spiritual journey which lead to a small but significant change.

People engaged seemed to enjoy the content, but wished for more insight in the theme. Social media is practical tool to democratise heritage work and share information internationally. Followers seemed to engage most with posts portraying the people or something humorous. Using social media in heritage work brings new ethical questions and the posts have to be made within the parameters of different platforms' rules and regulations.

Engaging people in social media and volunteers at the site might seem like they are two totally different things and the only connection is the topic or the theme. In some ways this might be true as the social media creates more audiences than participants and volunteers experience the activities in a very different way than those scrolling through social media channels. But they intertwine in many ways. Many of the volunteers use social media and follows the project actively. They have posted on their own profiles thoughts of the experience and especially pictures to express their enthusiasm. Social media might me the instigator to participate now or later in heritage work. Both the excavation and the posts in social media has encouraged many volunteers and followers to read more about the Lapland War.

After two fieldwork experiences, meeting several fascinating people, and after many other interesting events, it has started to take shape that this theme is not only current and valuable, but also something I hope to be part of in the future. Lapland's Dark Heritage's funding ends in August 2018, but there is still lots to

do and new leads to follow. The media attention and the interest of locals will hopefully further the dialogue of what to do with the war remains in the beautiful landscape. One of the projects angles is to make the heritage sites usable for locals.

Cultural heritage requires political and economic support.¹ LDH has been in contact with Sodankylä tourism center to get the local community involved in creating info signs for landmarks, having events promoting the local history and overall spreading the knowledge of the areas past that for example the accommodation business can take advantage of.

There is a gap in museum field for dark heritage themes. For example, the 1918 event concentration and the so-called “moving camps”² could be preserved as a museum or the WWII work and POW camps. Using the combination of ethnographic approaches and community-based research has the potential of emancipating communities and help them define their needs regarding the protection, preservation and care of heritage, both tangible and intangible.³ It would also be interesting to research how the education sector represents Lapland’s dark heritage. Maybe knowledge of the era would generate more interest in participating in heritage work from early age.

It is important for a nation to heal to own their past difficulties and dark heritage. For this two-sided aspect the Lapland War carries, it would be fruitful to harness as a product of dark tourism. It could be critical, because it has the potential to show many sides of the story. It touches not just Finns, Germans and Soviets, but many nationalities over the world. In many ways LDH tries to give empowerment to the local communities about their own heritage, but at the same time the project has to negotiate with the public and government officials to make it possible.

Projects like LDH can provide the needed tools for local communities to get knowledge and visibility of their heritage. Using social media as a part of heritage work helps to expand the message, that something important

¹ Takalo 2014, 142.

² In Finnish siirtoleiri.

³ Hollowell&Nicholas 2009: 144.

happened somewhere and get people interested. Open excavations help bring people together over one theme that still touches after all these decades. It makes it the whole nation's history and not just a small or aging community. Using practices including participants in Heritage Work broadens the way of thinking for both the people who makes a living working with Heritage but also the volunteers. Participating on an open excavation is an experience that alters the way of thinking hopefully for the rest of live.

Participation research requires critical consciousness and openness to new ideas. It also requires willing to change and challenge different ideas.¹ Participation gives the individuals and institutions a chance to accept responsibility for the heritage management. Participation helps battling racial, ideological and political divisions, and it balances the distribution of power and control.² Some of the Siltainsuu's respondents considered the public participating in excavations a threat. The respondents thought the volunteers might take space from proper professionals and lower the standards of archaeology.³ According to my experience #InariDig excavations not only emphasised the need of professionals, but also the need for broadening the perspectives of heritage.

The positive experiences LDH had with open excavation and collaborative research hopefully inspires other project to try similar methods and attitude towards participants. Suojanen described the researcher studying either Self or Other, but Ozanne and Saatcioglu describes it as position between an insider and an outsider.⁴ A true collaboration resulting in research relationship that can be called a partnership is the ideal. It benefits both the researcher and the individual or community.

Ozanne and Saatcioglu raises the matter of the academics has unsuitable methods or poor training as the researchers for involving volunteer participants. They also list inadequate time in the field, weak relationship with the

¹ Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

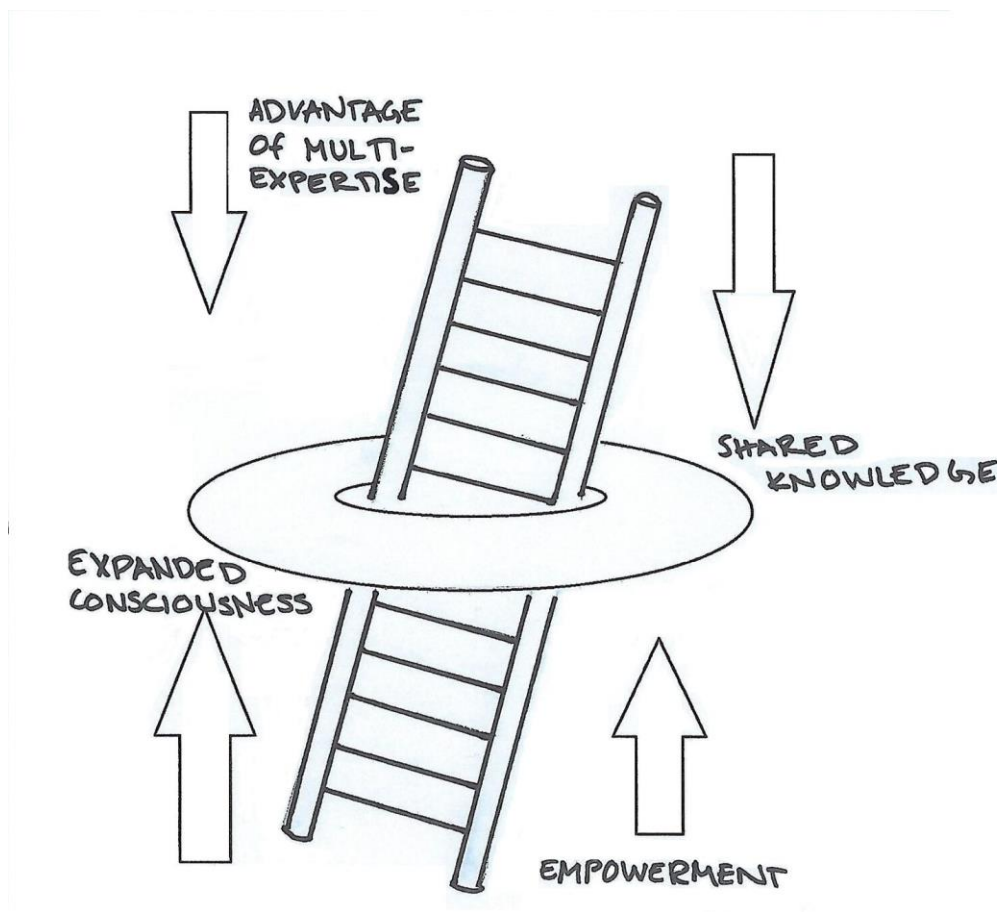
² Arnstein 1969, 216.

³ Siltainsuu 2012, 73.

⁴ Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

collaborators and shallow participation as criticism.¹ There might not be the experiences or skills needed to work long-term with communities. It is also impossible to assume the researcher can maintain their presence in the field continuously as the hectic life-style of the modern era has taken over the academic world.²

As universities have been challenged to become more actively engaged in society, we would not benefit from only having projects that are taking a stance in engagement or participatory methods. If we wish to reap the benefits of our participants, this should be something that is taught in early stages of becoming an academic.³ This would help the new generation of researchers in future encounters with different kinds of communities. For Beck and Maida, for



12 Modern ladders that leads to a collaborative platform. (image by author)

¹ Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

² For example Isbell 2013.

³ Beck&Maida 2013, 2.

researchers participating as partners in communities does not only redefine the researcher himself, but also the role of higher education.¹

In the end it comes to only one thing: the ladder of participation should have a solid platform in the middle. Researchers should not try to descend the ladders down in the effort of achieving perfection, nor should those interested in change climb the ladders up. The ladders work better if we are in mutual ground. Feet firmly on the ground together with the participants, volunteers, the people engaged, experts and academics is democratic and should be the ideal.

The same perception can be made to bottom-up and top-down approach. There should not be this much discussion of “us” and “them” when it comes to heritage. The question should not be “whose heritage” but a joint “our heritage” and the input from all sides should be equal. I now consider myself as an action researcher because I am working with participants to improve practices and hopefully in the future there is more interest in participation from the locals.²

As early as in 1998 there has been discussion of a strategy that is between top-down and bottom-up approaches. The critique for top-down model is that it presumes there is a deficit in public knowledge and understanding of different kind of issues. This deficit might be true in some cases, but it is not something that can only be filled with expert or professional knowledge.³ Another critique for it is that choosing the targets of interest for research might alienate communities and the studies may fail to capture what is important.⁴ The change did not show in the literature material I was able to acquire. In the future there should be more effort in theorising and trying in practice for a model that sits in the middle.

Climbing the ladders of participation in community heritage activities and projects up and down is beneficial for all parties. The academic researcher has the advantage of multi-expertise in the field and making sharing the information and knowledge easier for wider audiences with the straight contact to the

¹ Beck&Maida 2013, 3.

² Ozanne&Saatcioglu 2008.

³ Burgess&al. 1998, 1446.

⁴ Fraser&al. 2006, 115.

people who might be interested. Others who participate in heritage activities or projects has easier access to interesting information and the opportunity to be empowered. It gives tools to manage one's own heritage and expands the consciousness of our past.

Dr. Banks, Koskinen-Koivisto and Seitsonen asks if #InariDig could be considered as community archaeology at all since the participants were mostly non-locals.¹ I think we should make our perspective wider and go back to the question of whose heritage are we studying. The Lapland War is national heritage, even Western heritage, and all of us should be considered as the descendants².

At its best, community archaeology creates an environment where different kinds of people bring different kind of expertise and knowledge to the joint pool of investigation. Lapland's dark heritage enticed eager, motivated and skillful participants.³ After this experience one could conclude that there are interested people out there who wants to participate and sees heritage work as important work. If the professionals had enough time to concentrate in guidance and time to listen to the participants, volunteer work and social media for heritage institutions and projects could be highly possible.

Many times it all comes down to money, and it affects the democracy of heritage and volunteer participation. Maybe the theme or the possibility of having to travel long distances only attracts mature participants. That is something future research could reflect on and finding solutions in democratising physical volunteering. Social media on the other hand requires a lot less money but instead expertise and patience to learn how to use and benefit from new platforms. Using online questionnaires is an easy way to reach stakeholders, but it also has its limitations.

There are plenty of interested people willing to be followers in social media channels that relates to heritage. But not everyone uses all social media

¹ Banks&al. 2017, 6.

² Some more than others, maybe. Also in 160805_0016 Herva comments that Lapland's dark heritage is all of ours.

³ Banks&al. 2017, 5.

platforms and thus a project or an institution should use multiple different channels. There are plenty of people even in the very technologically oriented Finland who does not use any kind of social media. This is why physical accessibility is also important. With these different approaches and technologies new types of “ladders” have been created. For example specialists in online public participation has created a continuum to represent the level of engagement instead of bottom up or top down approach.¹

Hopefully in the future there is more research on how the WWII effected indigenous people and how the material war remains is seen among for example Sami people. In the context of the Lapland War it is especially important to include as many cultural descendants as possible in heritage work. I am also interested to know how the Lapland War is perceived in Finnish communities in other countries. It could be an exciting adventure to try to track down tourists who have visited WWII sites in Lapland at some point and taken a material souvenir from the sites. Who knows how far has the items travelled from Lapland and what kind of story do they tell. But as Beck and Maida puts it: Producing knowledge only for knowledge’s sake is no longer enough.² They also point out that community-based research produces new kind of knowledge.³ In the future, there could be a research for example more affective and emotional side of Lapland’s dark heritage.

This thesis was written for the academic audience, but the project has gotten feedback to write in Finnish for a more layman audience. Although the main funding for the project ends in August of 2018, the researchers are not setting this theme aside. There are few articles in Finnish underway and hopefully it is possible to write articles in the future in collaboration with the volunteers. I also dream of an active social media group that posts about their experiences of visiting WWII sites In Finland or around the world. A group like this would bring same-minded people together and sharing experiences would share knowledge in an easy and understandable, and relatable way.

¹ Bang the Table website.

² Beck&Maida 2013, 13.

³ Beck&Maida 2013, 30.

Fieldwork does indeed leave a mark on the researcher.¹ For me it gave motivation to find and pursue the direction of which I want professionally to move towards. The time went past so quickly at the field and gave a lot of things to reflect. The weeks were “a blink of an eye” with unbelievable days, unbelievable people and unbelievable tasks. I felt that after every day there should be a week to think over what had happened. The last thing on my fieldnotes were that “this, being here, made me happy”. I can only hope that others felt the same way.² Just as I was making final corrections to this text, a message popped up in Facebook from one of the volunteers: *Is there any news about next summer's excavation?*

¹ Ruotsala 2005, 73.

² 160806_0017.

References

Interviews

9 volunteers in 2016, 7 women and 2 men. Altogether 9 tapes from the site and 2 interviews of the visitors.

160802_0003

160803_0005

160803_0006

160803_0007

160803_0008

160803_0009

160803_0010

160804_0011

160804_0012

160805_0014

160805_0016

11 volunteers in 2017, 7 women and 4 men. Altogether 9 interviews from the site, of which one is not recorded.

170808_0027

170809_0028

170810_0029

170810_0030

170811_0033

170811_0034

170814_0035

170816_0037

170809_0045

10 tapes of fieldwork notes as secondary material supplementing the participant interviews.

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[26.4.2018]¹

Facebook:

A little fieldwork humour.

¹ DNA is a commercial mobile operator. This study suggests that 35% Finns uses Twitter at least sometimes. This has been contested for example here <http://www.pyyppe.fi/blogi/2017/07/twitterin-kaytto-suomessa/> stating that only 4,6% of Finns have tweeted in the past 12 months (calculations done in July 2017).

<https://www.facebook.com/1739806009628668/photos/a.1753673738241895.1073741828.1739806009628668/1754320741510528/?type=3&theater> [17.1.2018]

Backfilling.

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Front page of Lapland's Dark Heritage.

<https://www.facebook.com/Laplands-Dark-Heritage-1739806009628668/> [28.3.2018]

Piece of a porcelain plate.

<https://www.facebook.com/1739806009628668/photos/a.1753673738241895.1073741828.1739806009628668/1753766341565968/?type=3&theater> [17.1.2018]

Researchers after #InariDig2.

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Swastika carved in the tree.

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[7.5.2018]

One of the finds today.

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[7.5.2018]

Seitsonen holding a hard copy of his doctoral dissertation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview questions 2016.

Appendix 2: Practical info about what to pack for the excavations 2016.

Appendix 3: Consent form for research 2017 (in Finnish).

Appendix 4: Consent form for pictures 2017 (in Finnish).

Appendix 5: Volunteers wanted 2016.

Appendix 6: Press release 2017 (in Finnish).

Appendix 1

Interview questions: fieldwork participants and visitors, Inari

How did you hear about the excavations?

Why did you want to take part? / Why did you want to visit the site?

What were your expectations of the site and excavations?

Have you learned anything new from your experience?

What have you learned?

Are you from Inari? / Do you have any personal connections to Inari?

What are your connections to the place and region?

Do you have any connections to / knowledge about the Second World War period in this region?

Do you have any connections to other periods or events in this region?

Have you enjoyed yourself? Have you had fun?

Anything else you would like to tell to us?

Extra info discussed:

Consent on images, to be included in form. Tick or don't tick box to give consent (as with permission to record the interviews).

Take photo of each interviewee and mark down on name.

Leave handouts with project information and our contact details at Siida for visitors to pick up.

Appendix 2

Lapin synkkä kulttuuriperintö / Lapland's Dark Heritage 2016

Practical info about what to pack for the excavations

Here is some information those attending the excavation in Inari next week will need. So if you have signed up, this is how you can prepare!

All attendees will need the following:

1. Appropriate clothing - You will need to protect yourself from cold, wet, sunny and hot weather because this is what Lapland summers are like!
 - You may like to include a warm coat/jumper, a waterproof coat, waterproof leggings, cool full-length clothing for covering up, and most importantly a sun hat.
 - Don't forget that archaeological work takes its toll on your clothing, so don't bring clothes that you will be upset about if they get damaged or dirty!
 - Given the mosquitoes of Lapland, it is also advisable to wear long sleeves and trousers – exposed skin is akin to shouting “buffet's open”!
2. Footwear – Wellington boots are useful as areas may get muddy. You will also need a pair of heavy boots, preferably with steel toe caps.
3. High factor sun creams.
4. Insect repellent – as high strength as you can get. Bring plenty. And then some more.
5. A water bottle/flask.
6. Gloves – you might want to bring a pair of hardwearing work gloves of your own.
7. Kneeling pads – you might want to bring your own kneeling pad to help make close excavation a little more comfortable.

It is essential for you to bring your own mobile phone, and to ensure that it is adequately charged for a day working outside. Please make sure you have all the needed contact details, so that you can reach us quickly in case of emergency or other incident.

You may wish to take photographs during the excavation – we would like you to share with us any pictures you take, as it will contribute to our own research project. Pictures can be sent to

darheritagelapland@gmail.com, or added to Instagram or Twitter with the hashtag #InariDig. If you are photographing other people, be sure to ask their permission first!

Appendix 3

TUTKIMUSLUPALOMAKE / Lapland's Dark Heritage -hanke, Helsingin yliopisto

HANKKEEN PERUSTIEDOT:

Lapin synkkä perintö - hankkeessa tutkitaan Lapissa toisen maailmansodan aikana toimineiden saksalaisjoukkojen aineellisen kulttuuriperinnön arvoja ja merkityksiä. Hanketta hallinnoi Helsingin yliopisto ja johtaa arkeologian professori Vesa-Pekka Herva Oulun yliopistosta. Hankkeen tutkijat ovat Suzie Thomas ja Oula Seitsonen Helsingin yliopistosta ja Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto Jyväskylän yliopistosta. Lisäksi aineistonkeruuhun osallistuvat opiskelijat Mirkka Hekkurainen ja Annukka Debenjak Helsingin yliopistosta. Lisätietoja hankkeesta: <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/lapland-dark-heritage/>.

HAASTATTELUIHIN OSALLISTUMINEN:

Hankkeen haastatteluun osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista. Haastateltavalla on oikeus milloin vain keskeyttää osallistuminen tutkimukseen tai kieltäytyä vastaamasta hänelle esitettyyn kysymykseen. Haastattelut nauhoitetaan ääninauhalle, jos haastateltava siihen suostuu, jonka jälkeen haastattelu kirjoitetaan tekstitiedostoksi.

Tutkijat ovat sitoutuneet vaitioloon ja käsittelevät tutkimusaineistoa luottamuksellisesti. Tietoja ei luovuteta muille kuin tutkimushankkeen jäsenille ja opinnäytetöitään tutkimushankkeen tutkijoiden ohjauksessa tekeville opiskelijoille. Haastattelussa esille tulleet asiat raportoidaan tutkimusjulkaisuissa tavalla, jossa tutkittavia tai muita haastattelussa mainittuja yksittäisiä henkilöitä ei voida välittömästi tunnistaa. Tutkimusjulkaisuihin voidaan sisällyttää suoria otteita haastatteluista. Niiden yhteydessä mainitaan vain haastateltavan sukupuoli ja haastattelun päivämäärä, ellei toisin sovita.

Tutkimusaineisto on tutkijoiden hallussa projektin loppuun saakka ja sitä säilytetään Helsingin yliopistossa. Tutkimuksen päätyttyä haastattelunauhat ja niistä tehdyt yhteenvedot sekä valokuvat arkistoidaan.

HAASTATELTAVA TÄYTTÄÄ:

- ☐ Olen tietoinen osallistuvani tieteelliseen tutkimukseen
- ☐ Minua on informoitu riittävästi tutkimuksen tavoitteista ja käytänteistä
- ☐ Annan luvan nauhoittaa haastattelu ☐ En anna lupaa nauhoittaa haastattelua
- ☐ Annan luvan haastatteluaineiston arkistointiin ☐ Kiellän haastatteluaineiston arkistoinnin
- ☐ Sallin haastattelun käytön jatkossa tutkimustarkoituksessa ☐ Kiellän haastattelujen jatkokäytön

Haastateltavan ALLEKIRJOITUS JA NIMENSELVENNYS, AIKA ja PAIKKA

Appendix 4

LUPA VALOKUVIEN JA VIDEOIDEN KÄYTTÖÖN / Lapland's Dark Heritage -hanke, Helsingin yliopisto

HANKKEEN PERUSTIEDOT:

Lapin synkkä kulttuuriperintö -hankkeessa tutkitaan Lapissa toisen maailmansodan aikana toimineiden saksalaisjoukkojen aineellisen kulttuuriperinnön arvoja ja merkityksiä. Hanketta hallinnoi Helsingin yliopisto ja johtaa arkeologian professori Vesa-Pekka Herva Oulun yliopistosta. Hankkeen tutkijat ovat Suzie Thomas ja Oula Seitsonen Helsingin yliopistosta ja Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto Jyväskylän yliopistosta. Lisäksi aineistonkeruuhun osallistuvat opiskelijat Mirkka Hekkurainen ja Annukka Debenjak Helsingin yliopistosta. Lisätietoja hankkeesta: <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/lapland-dark-heritage/>.

VALOKUVAAMINEN JA KUVIEN KÄYTTÖ:

Kaivauksille vapaaehtoisesti osallistuvat antavat luvan kaivauksilla otettujen kuvien ja videoiden käyttöön niihin liittyvässä tutkimuksessa ja viestinnässä, myös sosiaalisessa mediassa. Mikäli kaivauksille osallistujat ottavat kuvia tai videoita projektiryhmän kameroilla, luovuttavat he ottamiensa kuvien ja videoiden tekijänoikeudet tutkimushankkeelle.

[] Annan luvan käyttää minusta otettua kuvia ja videoita kaivauksiin liittyvässä tutkimuksessa ja viestinnässä.

[] Annan luvan käyttää ottamiani kuvia ja videoita tutkimustarkoitukseen.

[] Annan luvan julkaista ottamiani kuvia ja videoita.

Haastateltavan ALLEKIRJOITUS, NIMENSELVENNYS, AIKA ja PAIKKA

Appendix 5

Public excavations at a Second World War German military hospital site in Inari 1.-5.8.2016

Lapland's Dark Heritage research project (Universities of Helsinki and Oulu) is organizing, together with the *Siida* Sámi Museum, a public excavation at a Second World War (WWII) German hospital site in Inari, Lapland, on 1.–5.8.2016. We welcome volunteers to take part in the excavations, either on one or more of the days or all week (excavation daily 10–12 am and 1–3 pm).

All volunteers need to pre-register (volunteers under the age of 16 have to be accompanied by a responsible adult who also registers them, see the registration form). We can accommodate up to 10 participants per day at the excavations, and places will be filled on a first come, first served basis. Besides excavation, there is a daily programme of other events, such as public presentations by specialists and special guided tours (TBC).

We invite volunteers to participate in uncovering and documenting the remains of a German military hospital site which was destroyed and burned in 1944, during the Lapland War. They will excavate alongside, and be guided by, professional archaeologists from the Universities of Oulu and Helsinki and *Siida Museum*, who have been working with WWII sites in Lapland since 2007. Volunteers need to arrange their own accommodation (there are several choices in Inari, if needed, we can help with that) and organize their daily transport to and from the site.

The research project draws from multidisciplinary study of Lapland's WWII heritage, including archaeological, historical and ethnographical aspects. WWII hospital sites have never been archaeologically explored before in Finland, or elsewhere in Europe for that matter: earlier 'conflict archaeology' studies have typically concentrated on more martial sites, such as fortifications and military and prisoner-of-war camps. We know from interviews that, besides German soldiers, Inari villagers were also treated at the hospital by German doctors and nurses, and the site forms a pertinent part of the local heritage. The site has always been known to the locals, but it was not known to the heritage authorities before 2015.

The main aims of the excavation in Inari are to document and analyze the spatial layout of the site, and to explore the kinds of material culture that will show up. The project also seeks to understand the diverse cultural values and meanings associated with the material heritage from the German military presence in Lapland. As part of this we will be talking to the volunteers about their thoughts and impressions while they are on site. The significance of northern Finland's WWII heritage will be considered broadly against Lapland's wider historical, cultural and environmental context.

It is important that, when registering, you mention any medical requirements and conditions that might affect your well-being at the site: excavation work is physically moderately demanding. Participants need to have valid insurance covering any personal accidents on site, and have to confirm that they have been vaccinated against tetanus within the past 10 years. All participants are also asked to sign a consent form at the site. The participation fee is 5 € / day or 20 € for whole week. The fee covers excavation gear, tools and coffee.

Appendix 6

YLEISÖKAIVAUKSET TOISEN MAAILMANSODAN AIKAISILLA SAKSALAISILLA SOTILASALUEILLA INARISSA KAAMASEN KYLÄSSÄ 7.–16.8.2017

Lapin synkkä kulttuuriperintö -hanke (Helsingin ja Oulun yliopistot) ja saamelaismuseum Siida järjestävät yhdessä yleisökaivaukset toisen maailmansodan aikaisella saksalaisella sotilasalueella Inarin Kaamasen kylässä 7.–16.8.2017.

Edellisvuonna 2016 kaivaukset järjestettiin Inarin kylässä saksalaisen sotilassairaalan alueella. Tällä kertaa kohteena on kaksi toisen maailmansodan aikaista saksalaista tukikohtaa Inarin Kaamasen Haaraldinjärvellä ja Hyljelahdessa, joissa on ollut vankileirit neuvostoliittolaisille ja muille sotavangeille ja pakkotyöläisille.

Historioitsija Lars Westerlund on yhdistänyt Hyljelahden leirin saksalaisten rangaistusleiriin (Polarstrafelager), jossa majoitettiin myös venäjänjuutalaisia sotavankeja. Sotavangit osallistuivat molemmilla leireillä tienrakentamiseen ja metsätöihin, ja Haaraldinjärvellä lisäksi saksalaisten sotilaslentokentän rakennustöihin.

Monitieteinen Suomen Akatemian rahoittama *Lapin synkkä kulttuuriperintö* -tutkimushanke (2015-2018) on tutkinut aiempina kenttäkausinaan saksalaisten vankileirejä ja nämä tutkimukset ovat jo nyt valaisseet monia teemoja, joista ei löydy tietoa kirjallisista lähteistä. Esimerkiksi vankien elin- ja majoitusoloista, suhteesta vartijoihin, sekä vankileirien tilallisista järjestelyistä on saatu uutta tietoa. Vankileirejä ja niiden tutkimusta voi hyödyntää myös linsseinä, joiden kautta tarkastellaan erilaisia laajempia, yleismaailmallisia kysymyksiä, esimerkiksi käsityksiä vangeista sekä asenteita heitä kohtaan ja luonnon ja ihmisten suhteita.

Vapaaehtoiset tervetulleita

Toivotamme vapaaehtoiset tervetulleiksi tutkimaan kanssamme. Osallistujien tulee rekisteröityä **ilmoittautumislomakkeella**. Mukaan otetaan ilmoittautumisjärestyksessä 10 osallistujaa. Vapaaehtoisten täytyy järjestää itse oma majoituksensa (projekti voi tarvittaessa auttaa majoituksen järjestämisessä), ruokailunsa sekä päivittäinen kulkemisensa kaivauspaikalle.

On tärkeää, että vapaaehtoiset ilmoittavat tutkimusryhmälle mahdollisista sairauksista tai lääkityksistä, jotka voivat vaikuttaa hyvinvointiin kaivauksilla, sillä kaivaminen on fyysisesti kohtalaisen vaativaa. Osallistujilla tulee olla voimassa oleva vapaa-ajan tapaturmavakuutus, joka kattaa mahdolliset henkilökohtaiset vahingot sekä viimeisen 10 vuoden kuluessa annettu jääkkäkouristusrokote. Kaikkia osallistujia pyydetään myös allekirjoittamaan suostumuslomake osallistumisesta tieteelliseen tutkimukseen.

Lisätietoa sähköpostilla laplandsdarkheritage@gmail.com tai puhelimitse professori Vesa-Pekka Herva p. 050 4620132. Tutustu projektin blogiin: <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/lapland-dark-heritage/>. Tutkimushanke kertoo uutisia tutkimuksesta myös Twitterissä @DarkLapland ja Instagramissa @dig_Inari #InariDig Edellisvuoden kaivauksiin voi tutustua seuraavan videolinkkien kautta: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkSdqe_HNXo&t=2s
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